THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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SANTA CLAUS, OR ST. NICHOLAS

By Robert Walter Weir, West Point, 1837

Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie, 1951

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New York: 170 Central Park West

SANTA CLAUS VISITS THE HUDSON

by R. W. G. Vail

THE ROMANTIC valley of the Hudson, with its blue ridges looking down on the misty reaches of the winding river, with fireflies twinkling in its marshy inlets of a Summer evening, and with thunder lazily rolling between its wooded mountain tops, has always served as a favorite inspiration for the poet, the painter and the teller of tales. It was this ever beautiful and romantic scenery which decided the distinguished American painter, Robert Walter Weir (1803–1889) to accept the appointment as Teacher of Drawing at the United States Military Academy where he would have ample leisure between classes for the painting of the scores of canvases which came from his brush during the forty-two years of his service to the Academy, from which he finally retired with the title of Professor and the rank of Colonel. So, in the Spring of 1834 he moved to West Point with his young wife and two small sons, Walter and Robert, and set up housekeeping in the stone house in Professors' Row just

vacated by his predecessor, the eminent artist C. R. Leslie.* Here he buried his first wife and married a second, raised sixteen children, taught successive classes of cadets, including James McNeil Whistler, and painted landscapes, portraits, genre and other romantic subjects and exhibited regularly in the National Academy of Design of which he was a member for 60 years.

In 1837 an anthology of verses by local authors appeared with the title: *The New-York Book of Poetry*. Most of its contents have been forgotten, but one poem, which will live as long as there are children, attracted Weir's attention and he doubtless read it aloud to his wife and two small boys. It was *A Visit from St. Nicholas*, better known to us as *The Night Before Christmas*. It had previously appeared anonymously in a Troy newspaper but was first published in book form and under the author's name in this volume of 1837.

The poem immediately suggested a new subject to the artist, for he delighted in painting scenes based on local traditions and folklore. So, placing a 30 by 24 ⅜ inch wooden panel on his easel and seizing his brushes he went to work to paint a portrait of the old saint and to illustrate the next to last verse of the wonderful new poem:

> "He spoke not a word, but went straight to his work,
> And fill'd all the stockings,- then turned with a jerk,
> An laying his finger aside of his nose,
> And giving a nod, up the chimney he rose."

The painting was shown in the National Academy of Design that year under the title: *Santa Claus, or St. Nicolas* [sic] and since it was not recorded in the catalogue as for sale or as the property of a collector, it was obviously painted for the pleasure of the artist and his children. A close examination of the picture proves this to be the case.

It depicts the good saint at the very moment when he was "laying his finger aside of his nose" just as he was about to duck

* Leslie's short career at West Point and the reasons for his resignation are presented in the following article: "Eliza Leslie's Impressions of New York and West Point" by Ophia Smith.

'Twas the night before Christmas, when all through
the house
Not a creature was stirring, not even a mouse;
The stockings were hung by the chimney with care,
In hopes that St. Nicholas soon would be there;

* * *

He spoke not a word, but went straight to his work,
And fill'd all the stockings; then turned with a jerk,
And laying his finger aside of his nose,
And giving a nod, up the chimney he rose;
He sprang to his sleigh, to his team gave a whistle,
And away they all flew like the down of a thistle.
But I heard him exclaim, ere he drove out of sight,
"Happy Christmas to all, and to all a good night."

Clement C. Moore.

AUTOGRAPH COPY OF "A VISIT FROM ST. NICHOLAS"
Made by Clement C. Moore for the Society, March 13, 1862
(Only the opening and closing verses are reproduced.)
Gift of the author, Clement C. Moore, 1862

into the fireplace on his way up the chimney. The author had borrowed this well-known gesture from Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York* where Oloffe Van Kortlandt saw Saint Nicholas in a dream and described him as "laying his finger beside his nose." And now the artist continued the same traditional gesture in his painting. Saint Nick is a real Dutch saint and not the fat old fellow whom you will see in Macy's or ringing a bell on the street corner at holiday time, both of whom are descended from Thomas Nast's Santa Claus of 1890. He is a short figure without a beard, dressed in Dutch boots and stocking cap decorated with a clay pipe, traditional emblem of the saint, and

Thomas Nast's

CHRISTMAS DRAWINGS

FOR

THE HUMAN RACE

NEW YORK · HARPER & BROTHERS · PRINTERS & PUBLISHERS · FRANKLIN SQUARE · M D C C X C

ORIGINAL CONCEPTION OF THE SANTA CLAUS OF TODAY

Which first appeared on this title page of *Thomas Nast's Christmas Drawings for the Human Race* (New York: 1890) [Copy at NYHS]

wearing a red cape edged with white fur. Being a real saint of the Catholic Church (he came originally from Asia Minor about 300 A.D.), he wears a rosary and apparently also a sword for the end of the scabbard sticks out behind him. His pack contains toys for the good children along his route and switches for the bad ones, true to the Dutch tradition.

The fireplace which fills the rest of the picture is so carefully and accurately painted that one has the feeling that the artist was depicting a real mantle with authentic accessories, perhaps the actual fireplace in his own home in Professors' Row. It is appropriately lined with Dutch tiles and above it appear the arms of New Amsterdam. The colonial chair, the atlas fire irons, the teakettle, tankard, shovel and tongs are apparently copied from real ones and the three stockings "hung by the chimney with care" look as though they might be worn by two small boys and their mother. The left-hand stocking must belong to a very bad boy for it contains only a switch but Santa could not be completely cruel and so tied a jumping jack to its toe. The initials *W W* which appear on the band at the top of this stocking show that it belongs to the artist's oldest son, Walter Weir, while the stocking at the right side of the fireplace, smaller because it belongs to a younger boy, is crammed with candy and presents, showing that its owner is a good boy. The initials *R W* on the band of this stocking prove that it is customarily worn by the other youngster of the family, Robert Weir. At the extreme right is a feminine stocking with no initials but with a ball of yarn and knitting needles projecting from it to identify it as that of the young mother of the family. On the hearth is a partly eaten orange, symbol of the House of Orange, reigning family of Holland, and a broken clay pipe, emblem of the saint himself. It is possible that Weir was familiar with the St. Nicholas broadside made by Alexander Anderson for this Society in 1810, the design for which shows a fireplace with stockings for good and bad children and a teapot and shovel and tongs similar to those painted by Weir.

Though the painting was unsigned, a replica of it with minor

ST. NICHOLAS BROADSIDE ISSUED BY THE SOCIETY IN 1810

Woodcut by Alexander Anderson (1775–1870)

Commissioned by John Pintard at his own expense for the Society

variations was painted by the artist and signed *R W W 1846*. It is horizontal rather than vertical, the coat of arms is smaller, leaving room for the words "Merrie Christmas to all" above it. The rosary and the switches tied to the outside of the saint's pack have disappeared while the orange and broken pipe bowl have moved to the left where they seem more artistically placed. This replica was lithographed in colors as a 7 by 8¼ inch Christmas card with the words of the poem on the back and was published by Robert Weir of Cohoes, New York in 1894. Three of them with fringed borders and four of them plain were offered in 1946

in *The Old Print Shop Portfolio* where the card was reproduced. Since there were two paintings of this subject it is probable that the one originally done in 1837, which we now have, went to the older son, Walter, and the replica of 1846 to his brother Robert, the two boys whose stockings appear in the pictures.

Our panel, according to the records of the Frick Art Reference Library, was owned by Gouverneur Kemble of Cold Spring, New York in 1937 and by Gordon Campbell of York, Pennsylvania in 1940. It was offered as having come from an old house at Croton, New York by Harry M. Bland and purchased as a gift to the Society by our Honorary President, Mr. George A. Zabriskie in 1951.

It is obvious that this delightful painting would make an ideal Christmas card, as it did in 1894. We have therefore had it carefully reproduced in full color by Jaffé for use as the frontispiece of this issue of the *Quarterly* and also to be used by our members and friends as a Christmas card which will include not only the colored reproduction just as you see it here but also a facsimile of the appropriate verse of the immortal poem from the original manuscript in the possession of this Society. The Christmas card, a four-page french folder with envelope, may be ordered, while the supply lasts, from our office. The price, with envelope, is 25 cents per card.

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Thomas Nast's Christmas Drawings for the Human Race. New York, 1890, including 32 of Santa Claus.

ELIZA LESLIE'S IMPRESSIONS OF NEW YORK AND WEST POINT

by OPHIA D. SMITH*

IN 1815, Thomas Jefferson Leslie, a boy of nineteen, graduated from West Point and became paymaster of engineers. He was the son of Robert Leslie, a Philadelphia watchmaker and a prominent citizen of Philadelphia. Thomas inherited his father's taste for mechanics. His brother Charles and sisters Eliza and Ann inherited their father's talent for drawing. Charles became one of the renowned painters of England, residing in that country most of his life. Ann, at one time, was mistress of drawing at Rutgers' Institute. Eliza, though gifted as an artist, won distinction as a writer of stories and of books on cooking, housekeeping, and polite behavior.[1]

Among Eliza Leslie's girlhood friends were the daughters of Francis Bailey[2]—Margaret, Lydia, Eleanor and Abigail. After the death of their father, the Bailey girls, with their mother, went to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1818, to make their home. Though fifteen years older than Abby Bailey, Eliza Leslie carried on a correspondence with Abby for many years.

Some of Eliza's letters were preserved by John H. James, the husband of Abby Bailey, and they are now in a large manuscript collection in the old James house at Urbana, Ohio. In a few of the letters, Eliza described West Point and New York

* Mrs. Smith, a specialist in Ohio History, is author of: *Giles Richards and His Times* (Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1936), *Old Oxford Houses* and *Fair Oxford* (Oxford [Ohio] Historical Press); contributor to a half-dozen historical-society journals; and co-author with her husband, William E. Smith, Dean of the Graduate School and Head of the Department of History at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, of five volumes—the last just completed through a $3,000 grant of the Martha Kinney Cooper Ohioana Library Association.

[1] See Ophia D. Smith, "Charles and Eliza Leslie," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, October, 1950.

[2] Francis Bailey was one of the powerful Philadelphia editors of the Revolutionary period. He published *The Freeman's Journal* in Philadelphia from 1781 to 1792. Bailey was the first American to accept the doctrines of Emanuel Swedenborg and the first to publish Swedenborg's works in America.

A VIEW OF THE HUDSON FROM WEST POINT
By Robert Walter Weir, 1869
Fruitlands and Wayside Museums, Inc., Harvard, Mass.

City as she saw them in the early 19th century. The earliest letter regarding West Point was written by Eliza in Philadelphia on October 8, 1820. She had been very ill and had gone to West Point to regain her health in "the fine mountain air."

I was very much delighted with my excursion to West Point [*wrote Eliza to Abby*] . . . . West Point has many advantages which are seldom united—Scenery the most picturesque and romantic, pure and salubrious air, excellent water, a variety of delightful walks, and genteel and agreeable society— Lying immediately on the Hudson, there is daily communication with passing up and down between that city and Albany, so that letters, books, newspapers, provisions, and articles of dress and furniture can be procured without any difficulty. More than a hundred newspapers arrived there every day from various parts of the union, and as the gentlemen of West Point are all reading people, every new book that comes out, is to be found there immediately. The private collections are very select, besides which there is a large public library (consisting principally of works of science) which cost twenty thousand dollars— There are also two circulating libraries belonging to the cadets, and containing chiefly books of amusement and for the support of which, each boy contributes five dollars annually.

West Point has nothing of the air of the country village— A number of new houses have been built within the last two or three years, and others are now building— They are all either of brick or stone, and are

handsomely finished with marble mantle-pieces and folding doors to the parlours. They are finished like genteel modern houses in New York or Philadelphia and the inhabitants dress very much, and very fashionably.

The barracks and the academy are immense stone buildings— The library is in the upper part of the church, where divine service is performed by the chaplain every Sunday, the cadets and all the people of the point attending. . . . I had a large chamber with three windows which overlooked the whole plain, and all its appurtenances, including cadet camp— I could see the parade and the morning and afternoon drills, and hear the music (their band is considered the finest in America) without going out of my own room.

The cadets are two hundred and fifty in number, and generally young men of the first families— In polish and elegance of manners, I never saw any boys who could at all compare with them, and also in gracefulness of motion— They have improved extremely under the superintendence of Major Thayer—[3] Their uniform is simple and very becoming. They wear grey coatees trimmed with black cord, and gilt and black leather caps with gilt chains and tassels, and a high black feather . . . among them who act as officers, wear swords, red sashes, and bands of gold lace round one sleeve— You cannot imagine how amusing it is to live at a military post, amidst all of what Shakespeare calls "the pride pomp and circumstance of glorious war"— Beside the cadets, there is always at West Point a company of artillery-soldiers and their wives—

I received great attention from the family of Mr. Ellicott,[4] and also from those of the other professors . . . .[5]

In 1823, Tom Leslie was transferred from Washington City to New York City. Reluctantly, Eliza left Philadelphia and went

[3] Sylvanus Thayer graduated at the United States Military Academy in 1808 and became instructor of mathematics there. In 1815, he went to Europe to examine military works and schools and to study operations of allied armies before Paris. He was recalled in 1817 to superintend the academy at West Point. He organized the school and raised it from an elementary school to rank with the best military schools in the world. He has been called "The Father of the United States Military Academy."

[4] Andrew Ellicott, civil engineer. He surveyed and laid out the city of Washington; in 1792 he was made surveyor-general of the United States. In 1812, he became professor of mathematics at West Point. Ellicott was the friend of Benjamin Franklin and George Washington.

[5] There follows a discussion of the just-published *Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* by Washington Irving—one of Charles Leslie's most intimate friends in London—and a description of a breakfast with Sir Walter Scott to which Irving had taken Leslie. In 1824 Charles Leslie spent several weeks at Abbotsford painting Scott's portrait for George Ticknor of Boston.–Charles Robert Leslie, *Autobiographical Recollections with Selections from His Letters*, ed. by Tom Taylor (London: 1860), 2 vols., I: 245, II: 83-85; Eliza Leslie to Abby Bailey, Oct. 8, 1820, in James Mss., Urbana, Ohio.

to live with her brother in New York. On September 1, 1823, she wrote her impressions of the city to her friend Abby:

. . . I am much better pleased with New York than I expected to be. We live in a very pleasant part of the town, near the upper end of Broadway— The only objection to it is that all the hotels and boarding houses are at the other end of the city (at least a mile from us) so that when any of our friends come to New York, we are not able to see as much of them as we wish. I also regret being so far from the Battery . . . as it is a most delightful walk, and much resorted to by genteel people— It runs along the bank of the Hudson, and is on one side washed by the river— It is laid out in grass and gravel, and planted with large trees— Beyond it is a row of elegant houses— In spite of its name, there is nothing warlike about it now, except the new fort called Castle Clinton— While walking on the Battery you enjoy the shaded trees, the cool sea breeze and a fine view of the harbour and shipping, with a very near prospect of Fort Columbus and Castle Williams, and have besides an opportunity of seeing all the beauty and fashion of New York.

This city is much more lively and bustling than Philadelphia, but less comfortable less convenient and less rational— Almost all the new houses are only two story . . . some of the very best streets contain none but two story houses, which however are so handsomely finished and have such wide fronts that they have not the mean appearance which is universal in the few two story houses of Philadelphia.

As the New York builders are fond of a profusion of carved work about their doors and windows, it is to be regretted that they have nothing better to carve upon, than a coarse dark brown stone, of which all the door steps, and pillars and cornices are constructed.

The fine white marble which is so profusely employed in Philadelphia to decorate the fronts of the houses is almost unknown— But nevertheless, in spite of the two story houses, the brown stone, the bad water, the execrable butter, and the tawdry style of dress, New York is a pleasant, lively and agreeable city, and I believe I shall be very well contented to live here— I think the people (generally) are less industrious, less prudent, and perhaps less intellectual than the Philadelphians, but on the other hand, I consider them more cheerful and animated, and more sociable and hospitable than our folks . . . .

Joseph Buonaparte and his daughter (who is the Countess Charlotte Napoléone) are now here, waiting for the arrival of Joseph's other daughter with her husband from Antwerp— They stay at the City Hotel, where Joseph frequently is seen sitting with other boarders on the door-step— One evening last week, Tom and I met the . . . king of Spain with the little princess hanging on his arm, hurrying very fast up Broadway on their way to the circus into which great crowds of people was at that moment struggling for entrance—

To look at Joseph Buonaparte, as we then saw him, in a gingham coatee and a straw hat, we could scarcely believe it possible that he had ever worn an ermine robe and a diadem, or that his daughter in her black canton crape, plain muslin half-handkerchief, and straw bonnet, had ever sparkled at a court in jewels feathers and gold embroidery— Yet such is the fact. . . . Now, we saw this same Joseph Buonaparte and his daughter, alone and unattended, walking up Broadway as fast as they could, that they might not be too late for the commencement of the performance. . . .

By the bye, I see no prevailing fashions in New York except that almost everybody dresses as gaudily and in as many different colours as possible without the least reference to the season or the weather— I have seen scarlet and orange merino shawls when the thermometer has been at 85 and red morocco belts over black frocks, with blue handkerchiefs and green bonnets with pink or yellow flowers— Leghorn bonnets are considered very ungenteel here. . . . The dress bonnets here are made now of tulle, transparent, crape, chip, or some light material— The morning and travelling bonnets are of brown unbleached linen cambric lined with blue or pink levantine— These cost six or seven dollars and are made with whale-bones and drawn cases— They are considered very genteel, coloured silk or worked muslin are substituted— The English fashions are as universally adopted in New York as the French are in Philadelphia.

In about a month after this letter was written, Tom Leslie was ordered back to West Point to serve as treasurer of the military academy. His sister Eliza left New York with few regrets, glad to take up her residence again at West Point where she had made so many pleasant acquaintances. Her favorite friend there was the wife of Professor Jared Mansfield. Eliza considered Mrs. Mansfield "an uncommonly fine woman," with "a great taste for literature." Mrs. Mansfield could read "elegantly," and was "a first-rate housewife." Young Edward Mansfield liked to listen to the sprightly conversations carried on by his mother and Miss Leslie whose flow of talk was clear and animated, revealing "a great knowledge of society." Eliza Leslie wrote to her friend Abby that the Mansfields were "the most genteel and agreeable family on West Point, and theirs [was] the most pleasant house to visit." [6]

[6] Eliza Leslie to Abby Bailey, West Point, May 8, 1825. James Mss. The Mansfields, father and son, took this letter from Miss Leslie to Abby Bailey at Cincinnati. They were going to look Cincinnati over as a place for Edward to establish himself.

In November, 1823, Eliza wrote to Abby again, describing her situation at West Point:[7]

We live in an old fashioned house which was once the best on the Point and successively occupied by General Williams and by General Swift when they commanded here. We have a superabundance of passages and entries long and short, and little triangular rooms and large without fireplaces, but the apartments that we have selected for use are all commodious and comfortable. We have two close stoves and two Franklin and as all officers have an ample allowance of wood we have not much fear even from the severity of a West Point winter– We have a large garden which in summer is well stocked with flowers, fruit and vegetables for the table– From our front windows we have a near view of the Mess House, the Academy and the Barracks. Our back windows look out at the mountains, which rise immediately behind our house, and our corner rooms have a prospect of part of the plain, the road from the river, the houses of the professors and the mountains on the other side of the river– steamboats going and returning from Albany to New York pass the Point every night. . . . Every gentleman here takes two or three papers (some four or five) so that we are never at a loss for news and we get our letters from Philadelphia the second day after date– We are permitted to take books from the Library belonging to the Institution– The English books are generally such as are connected with military science, but the French department is miscellaneous, and embraces almost every branch of useful and entertaining literature– All the genteel families on the Point have joined in forming a reading-society which meets every Thursday evening at each house in its turn. . . .

We have the finest military band in America– They play twice a day on parade, and every Saturday evening in the large hall of the Academy when it is the fashion for the ladies and gentlemen to go and hear them. The music is far superior to any of the concerts in Philadelphia or New York.

In the spring, Eliza wrote Abby a long letter about parties, fashions, and authors:[8]

West Point is considered the most pleasant of all our military posts– It is a little world in itself and certainly as a summer residence, it is inferior to none in the union; in winter, however, it has many of the

Edward, finding the place satisfactory, settled there. He became one of Cincinnati's most distinguished lawyers, editors, and authors. The elder Mansfields removed to Cincinnati in 1828. They were warmly received and soon made a place for themselves in Cincinnati society.

[7] Eliza Leslie to Abby Bailey, Nov. 25, 1823. James Mss.

[8] Eliza Leslie to Abby Bailey, Mar. 23, 1824. James Mss.

disadvantages and inconveniences that no country-place is exempt from— The society here is very good— There are reading-parties once a week. . . . The ladies bring their work, and the gentlemen read aloud; generally short pieces from periodical publications— About nine o'clock refreshments are brought in, the books are laid aside, and the evening concludes with conversation— These reading parties are very pleasant. . . . I have had several invitations to balls, but have only accepted two— The first was at the house of one of the professors, the other was given by the cadets, and held in the Mess Hall, which was very handsomely fitted up for the occasion— The windows were shaded with laurel-branches, so arranged as to make each window look like an arbour or alcove— The pillars that supported the room were encircled with muskets and bayonets— Between the pillars were suspended the two elegant standards presented to the cadets by the citizens of Boston, and various "star-spangled banners" were disposed in festoons round the walls— All the officers and cadets being in uniform, added much to the animation of the scene— The room was lighted with the same sconces that were used at the splendid ball given at West Point when our revolutionary army was encamped here by the American officers to the French, in honour of the birth of the dauphin— At this La Fayette was present and Washington danced with Mrs. General Knox. The ball-room was an immense arbour erected for the purpose on the plain which is now the parade ground for the cadets— Should La Fayette come to America, he will of course visit West Point— I would not on any consideration be absent on his arrival.

You ask my opinion of the Pilot. Some of the scenes I think most deeply interesting and many of the characters are well drawn and well supported— But the story is ill-managed and some of the incidents absurd. . . . Mr. Cooper was on a visit at West Point last summer— He has an affectation of pretending that he never reads— He is extremely vain and professes to rely entirely upon the resources of his own original genius. He told the gentlemen here, that he had never read a single one of the Waverley novels— This I do not believe. It is said that when he is writing a book he is in the habit of applying to some of his friends in New York to furnish mottoes for his chapters pretending total ignorance of all the poets— He had, however, a college education though he is unwilling to acknowledge it. . . .

Dr. Percival, the poet, has been appointed Professor of Chemistry at the Military Academy— He was here about a week since, but has gone again having obtained leave of absence till the first of May. . . . He received great attention from all the gentlemen at West Point, but none of them could draw him out or induce him to talk at all— He seemed not to be aware that at a military post it is indispensable . . . to shew proper respect to the commanding officer— When Colonel Thayer called on him, Dr. Percival (though it was twelve o'clock at noon) sent him word

WEST POINT PARADE GROUND AS ELIZA LESLIE SAW IT

Colored engraving by J. Hill after George Catlin, 1828

The New-York Historical Society

hat he was still in bed and would not see him— A few days after the Colonel called again with two other officers— Dr. Percival happened to be in the parlour when they came in— He sat a few minutes, till a servant appeared at the door to announce dinner, and then rose up, and passing close before them all, left the room without the slightest apology, and returned no more. Some think him very rude, others say he is very absent— For my part I think he is not naturally either rude or absent, but that he behaves in this strange way from a foolish idea that poets ought to be queer.

Have the handkerchief caps reached Cincinnati yet— They are much worn by young girls in New York, and are handsomer and more becoming than the mob caps, with quilted borders which have been so long in fashion for married ladies— They are composed of a simple half-handkerchief of muslin or bobbinet with a worked border all around— As the handkerchief is not cut out in any way, it can be afterwards worn again on the neck— A triangular case large enough to admit a narrow pink or blue ribbon to run in the handkerchief and taken out every time it is washed— The back corner of the handkerchief is turned before and comes down in a point over the middle of the forehead— The other two corners tie under the chin— When the case is drawn up as to expose both cheeks and ears— It is also tucked up at each temple with a small bow of

ribbon so as to shew the curls, which should be very full– Another bow is placed on top of the forehead above the pointed corner of the cap, and a fourth behind the neck– You cannot imagine the graceful juvenile and elegant appearance of these caps–if properly arranged– In full dress they are made of tulle or silk lace . . . and sprigs of flowers are substituted for the [ribbon bows].

In the fall of 1833, Charles Leslie, brother of Eliza and Tom, returned to America after an absence of twenty years. Enthusiastically, Eliza wrote the news to Abby Bailey James (November 20, 1833):

His appointment of Professor of drawing at the Military Academy, has been as tempting as possible to induce him to accept it. The salary has on his account been increased, and many advantages and facilities have been offered to him. He is only required to instruct the cadets two hours a day, five times a week, and not at all during the summer months. Thus he will have leisure to paint pictures on his own account. And in the winter, he will find the advantage of our clear bright days over the gloom and fogs of a London atmosphere. In fact, an English artist calculates upon losing half the painting-time from the darkness of the weather and the shortness of the days. . . .

Charles . . . with his wife and five children . . . spent a fortnight in Philadelphia, and then proceeded to West Point where they are very pleasantly fixed in the next house but one to Tom's. Charles is literally enraptured with America– He says had he known exactly what America now is, he could not have staid away from it half so long. In personal appearance he is, of course, very much changed; as he left us when he was a boy of sixteen. But he is not the least English, either in looks or ways. I never saw a man who had less coldness, reserve, and fastidiousness. He is all animation, frankness, and good humour. He is full of amusing anecdotes of things and people that he has seen. . . . And having had more or less personal acquaintance with most of the distinguished public characters of England, he has much to relate of them that is well worth knowing. In feeling and opinions he is a most determined American. In leaving England, he of course made many sacrifices, but he was willing to give up all the advantages which are peculiar to that country (as regarding the arts) as soon as he could see his way clear in returning home. He says that from the time he became a father, he felt it impossible to be reconciled to the idea of bringing up his children as English children, and making Englishmen and Englishwomen of them. . . .

Charles had married an Englishwoman, Harriet Stone, who looked upon America as a barbaric land. She came to this country

expecting Americans to be little above savages and did not change her mind while here. Her discontent, added to Charles's disappointment in certain conditions at the school, led to Charles's resignation in six months. Charles was irked by the time he had to spend on the cadets outside of school hours, and he was disappointed in his painting room. The new room promised him never materialized.

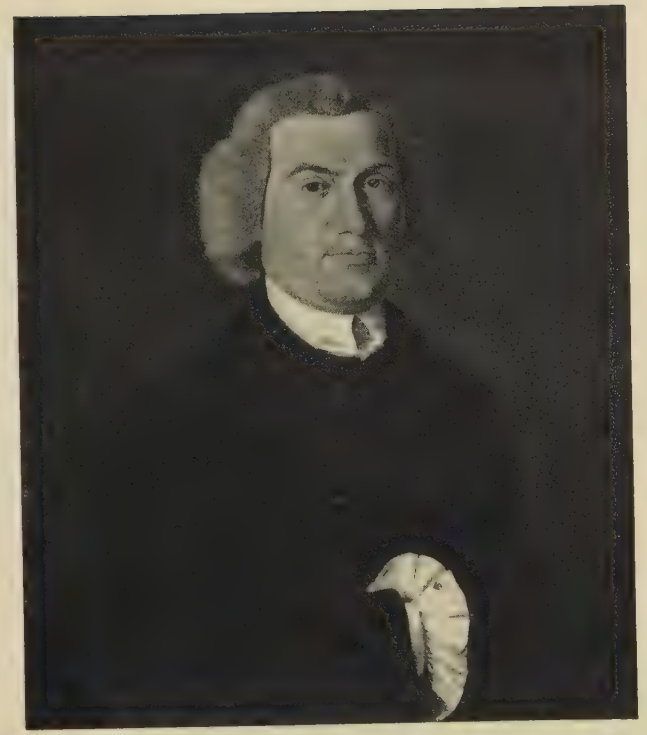
The Leslies were much upset over Charles's resignation. According to Eliza, it was his "most ardent wish" to remain in America, but "for the sake of domestic peace he was compelled to return to England." Harriet "gave him no rest until he consented to . . . leave this horrid country." [9] And so it was that West Point lost a distinguished painter, though it immediately gained another in the person of Leslie's successor—Robert Walter Weir.[10]

Charles Leslie was born in England, studied in England, and made his great reputation in England. He never forgot, however, that he was an American and that generous Americans had provided the funds to send him to England to study. After his return to England he won new honors, even from Queen Victoria herself. He painted "The Queen Receiving the Sacrament at her Coronation" and "The Christening of the Princess Royal." In 1843, he was one of the artists chosen to paint frescoes in the Queen's little pavilion at Buckingham Palace.

Tom Leslie was retired from the United States Army in 1869 with the brevet rank of brigadier general, after fifty years of continuous and faithful service. To his service in the army we are indebted for Eliza Leslie's graphic descriptions of New York and West Point.

[9] Ellen (Eleanor) Bailey to her sisters at Urbana, Ohio, reporting a conversation with Eliza Leslie in Philadelphia, April, 1834. James Mss.

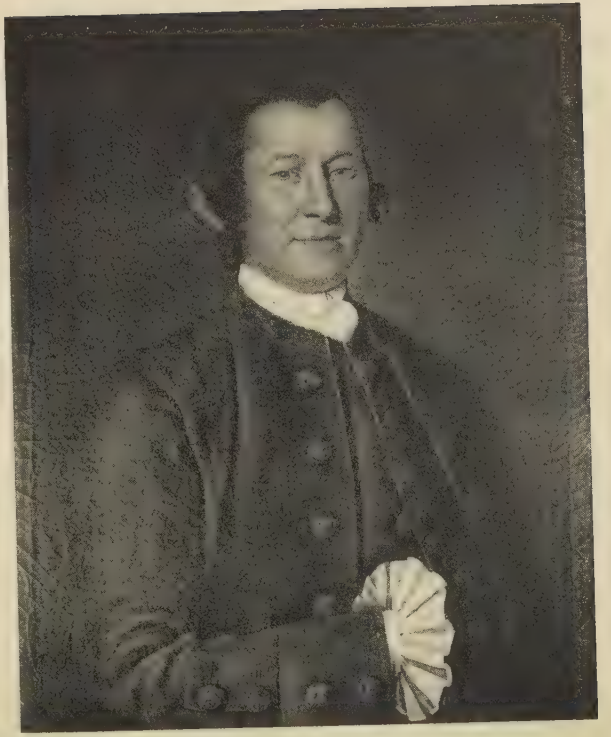
[10] See R. W. G. Vail, "Santa Claus Visits the Hudson," herein. On April 7, 1834, Leslie wrote to Weir that he would leave carpets, kitchen articles, etc., "the stove in the painting room" if wanted, and "some scarlet vermillion which I will leave with my brother [Tom] for you."—Irene Weir, *Robert W. Weir, Artist* (New York: 1947), 53–54.



JOHN KETELTAS (1739–1768)

Signed and dated: "Jn° Mare. / Pinx^t. / 1767"

(Note fly on cuff of shirt sleeve)



GERARD G. BEEKMAN (1746–1822)

By John Mare, *c.* 1769

(Attributed by William Sawitzky, 1943)

Owned by the Historical Society of the Tarrytowns

JOHN MARE
(1739–*c.* 1795)

NEW YORK PORTRAIT PAINTER
WITH NOTES ON
THE TWO WILLIAM WILLIAMS'

by

HELEN BURR SMITH*

THE IDENTIFICATION of the New York portrait painter Thomas McIlworth in the April 1951 issue of this *Quarterly*, just as the author was completing her research for the present study, points up the interest in an equally obscure contemporary who exhibited a remarkable parallel both stylistically and biographically to him. The artist in question is "John Mare Jun^r., Limner," of whom previously it has been commonly known only that, having become a freeman of the City of New York in 1765, he did a portrait of George III for the City in 1766,[1] and painted the striking portraits of *John Keteltas*, signed and dated: "Jn° Mare./Pinx^t./1767," and of *Gerard G. Beekman*, attributed by William Sawitzky in 1943.[2] Both painters

* Miss Smith, a former contributor to this *Quarterly*, became interested in early American portraiture through her studies of Colonial silversmiths. For identification of the ornamental head pieces, see note 36 below and the text to which it pertains.

[1] George C. Groce, "New York Painting before 1800," *New York History*, January 1938, 54–55.

[2] This statement is based upon the fact that in the Frick Art Reference Library, at this writing, no other portraits remain in the Mare folder; certain others, formerly attributed to him, have been withdrawn as by another still-unidentified hand. Two others, once catalogued in private collections as by Mare on the basis of signatures later called into question, have been rejected by scholars pending further study. Besides these, with a single obscure and totally neglected exception, only the *Keteltas* and the *Beekman* have been published as by Mare. The former appears in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Life in America* catalogue as such; the latter in "Portraits and Landscapes at Philipse Castle" by William F. Davidson, *American Collector*, May 1944, 14. In his lecture of January 27, 1942, at The New-York Historical Society, William Sawitzky introduced John Mare as "a man of whom we know even less than

married in New York in successive years; both had first-born sons named for themselves, Mare in 1760, McIlworth in 1761; both soon went to Albany and painted portraits (among others) of Hudson Valley Livingstons; the known artistic career of neither extended much on either side of the 1760's or beyond the borders of New York Province; both copied or modelled portraits upon those of John Wollaston; and their styles of portraiture were seemingly so similar that, until the recent demarkation of the body of McIlworth's paintings, works of these two close contemporaries had been tentatively assigned by some students to a single unidentified hand. It is hoped that the present article will further clarify the confusion which has existed; rescue "John Mare Jun^{r}., Limner," from almost total biographical oblivion; catalogue for the first time the works by or attributed to him; and, at the same time, shed some further light on "the mysterious William Williams," Benjamin West's first boyhood mentor in the arts, who may have been, as it is here first suggested, John Mare's brother-in-law and the father of Mare's nephew, the painter William (Joseph) Williams.[3]

John Mare, Jr., the portrait painter, was a son of John Mare and Mary Bes, both residents of New York City, who were married in the New York Dutch Church on April 26, 1738. The father had come as "a young man from Devonshire, in Old England" and later termed himself a "Mariner," although the record of his admittance to the freedom of the City of New York, January 9, 1754, lists him as a "Labourer."[4] Whatever his occupa-

any of the others." He there identified only the *Keteltas* as by Mare, although he said he knew of other portraits as possibly by the same hand, one of which he later attributed to Mare.

[3] For the published facts regarding McIlworth and Williams, see "Thomas McIlworth (active 1758 to *c.* 1769). Identified by William Sawitzky and Katharine Hastings . . . A Fore-Statement," by Susan Sawitzky, in *NYHS Quarterly*, April 1951, 117–139; and "Further Light on the Work of William Williams," by William Sawitzky, *ibid.*, July 1941, 101–112; James Thomas Flexner, "The Amazing William Williams," *Magazine of Art*, November 1944, 243–6, 276–8. For clues to the identification of Williams as Mare's brother-in-law and the father of William (Joseph) Williams, see the section on "The Two William Williams' " below.

[4] *Coll. N. Y. Gen. & Biog. Soc., N. Y. Dutch Church Marriages 1639–1801*, p. 162; *NYHS Coll. 1898*, 36; *ibid. 1908*, 280; *ibid. 1885*, 179.

tion, it is certain that John Mare, Sr., like many of his contemporaries, was too illiterate to sign his own name except with "His Mark." Nevertheless, he was able to acquire, besides personal property, some New York City real estate, of which one lot alone was mortgageable for at least £150. This shows him to have been a far more substantial citizen than the majority of his fellow townsmen, of whom hardly a fourth owned property assessed at as much as £60. Incidentally, it is this lot as bequeathed by the father to John Mare, Jr., and described in a 1761 mortgage, which definitely identifies the son as the artist, for when the latter in turn mortgaged it in 1771 he termed himself "John Mare of the City of New York Portrait-Painter." [5]

Nothing is known of the painter's mother but her name. It is assumed, however, that since her marriage to an Englishman was performed in the Dutch Church she herself was of Dutch origin. Her husband apparently was—and she probably became—a communicant of the Church of England, for none of their children or grandchildren are recorded in the baptismal records of the Dutch Church, while two certainly and the others probably were baptised by an Anglican clergyman. Unfortunately, the vital records of the English Church in New York City covering the periods when the Mare children and grandchildren would have been baptised were destroyed by fire.[6] However, "A Registry of Christenings kept by the Rev. John Ogilvie Began June ye 9th 1749," having been preserved as the private record of Dr. Ogilvie, substantiates the conclusion that the parents were members of the Anglican Church and, together with a few other records cited, including the father's will, provides the core of our certain knowledge of the artist's family.

John Mare, Jr., was born in New York City in 1739 (probably

[5] See ms. will of John Mare, Sr., and the two mortgages as cited in note 46 below. For the relative status of adult white males, freeholders of New York County, based upon wealth, see *NYHS Coll. 1945*, chapter VI, note 101 and the text to which it pertains.

[6] *N. Y. Gen & Biog. Soc. Recs.*, Trinity Church Records: in which it is stated that the Parish register of Marriages of 1697–1748 were lost in the fire which destroyed the Trinity School, February 20, 1750/51, and that the "records dating from 1750/1 to 1776 [were] lost in [the] Great Fire of 1776" or carried to England.

early in the year)—the eldest of three children.[7] His sister Mary must have been born a year or two later, for she became the mother of the painter William (Joseph) Williams on November 17, 1759.[8] His younger brother, Henry, was baptised in New York City on November 5, 1749.[9] In 1754, John Mare's father was made a freeman of the City and continued to reside there with his family until his death in 1766.[10]

John Mare, Jr., was a lad of eighteen or nineteen when his sister Mary, in 1758 or early 1759, as the evidence cited below suggests, married the painter William Williams.[11] This marriage may have been the deciding factor in Mare's choice of a career, for it may well be that to Williams Mare owed his interest and first instruction in painting, in the same way that Benjamin West (Mare's elder by only a few months but more precocious than he by years) had become gratefully indebted to Williams "as the man who put into his hands, when a boy, the first books he had ever read on the subject of painting, and showed him, in specimens from his own pencil, the first oil pictures he had ever seen."[12] Benjamin West in 1758 had come to New York seeking commissions[13] at about the time of Mary Mare Williams' marriage and so may have provided an added incentive to emulation on

[7] This conclusion is based upon the facts: (1) that his parents were married April 26, 1738; (2) that his own son was baptised twenty-one years and his sister's son twenty years after the earliest possible date of the artist's birth; (3) that it is more likely that she than that he married at seventeen, eighteen, or nineteen years of age; and (4) that his brother is known to have been born later.

[8] See John Mare, Sr.'s will quoted below; and John F. Williams, *William Joseph Williams, Portrait Painter and His Descendants* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Privately Printed, 1933), copy at NYPL. See also the discussion substantiating this statement in the section on "The Two William Williams'" below.

[9] Ms. "A Registry of Christenings kept by the Rev. John Ogilvie Began June ye 9th 1749" (Trinity Church Office), in which the entry reads: "*New York* November 5, 1749. Henry, son of John & Mary Mairs." John Ogilvie had just returned to New York from England, where he had gone for his ordination, and Henry Mare's baptism was the third of the first three performed by Dr. Ogilvie in New York upon his return.

[10] *NYHS Coll. 1885*, 179; *ibid. 1898*, 36, where his will is dated as proved December 5, 1766.

[11] The evidences for this suggestion are given below, under "The Two William Williams'".

[12] William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (1834), I:32; see also James Thomas Flexner, *America's Old Masters* (1939), 30–32, 36.

[13] *DAB*, "Benjamin West" by Mantle Fielding.

young Mare's part. William Williams, who would soon be advertising as an artist or as a teacher of "Polite Youth, in the different branches of Drawing," both at Philadelphia and at New York,[14] would surely have offered as much encouragement to his talented brother-in-law (assuming his identification as Mary's husband to be correct), as he had to the youthful West, and no doubt made sure that they knew each other.

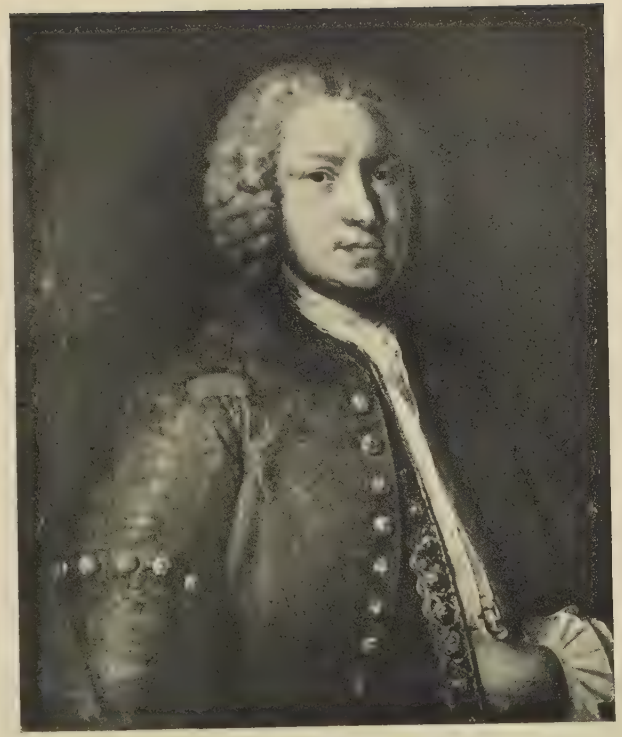
However that may have been, West in late 1759 "rushed back to Philadelphia and proposed to Miss Shewell" before taking passage to Italy and new artistic horizons,[15] while John Mare, Jr., in the same year married Ann Morris and was off to Albany to try his own skill at portraiture upon the wealthy Albanians and Hudson Valley landlords. Early the following year, the Reverend John Ogilvie, back in Albany from his chaplainship of the troops which had captured Fort Niagara, made the following entry in his personal "Registry of Christenings": "*Albany* April 15, 1760—John, son of John and Ann Mairs Mother's Maiden Name Ann Morris."[16] What commissions, if any, Mare executed at Albany or precisely how long he remained there is unknown. But there is a portrait by his hand of *Henry Livingston* (1714–1799) at Poughkeepsie, N.Y., signed and dated: "Jn° Mare/Pinx^{t}/1760," which the artist may have painted during a stopover at Livingston Manor on his return trip to New York, if not after his arrival home and during Livingston's attendance as a representative from Dutchess County at the 1760 spring or fall session of the General Assembly.[17]

[14] Prime, *The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland, and South Carolina* (1929), 13; Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York 1726–1776* (1938), 7.

[15] Flexner, *op. cit.*, 40–41.

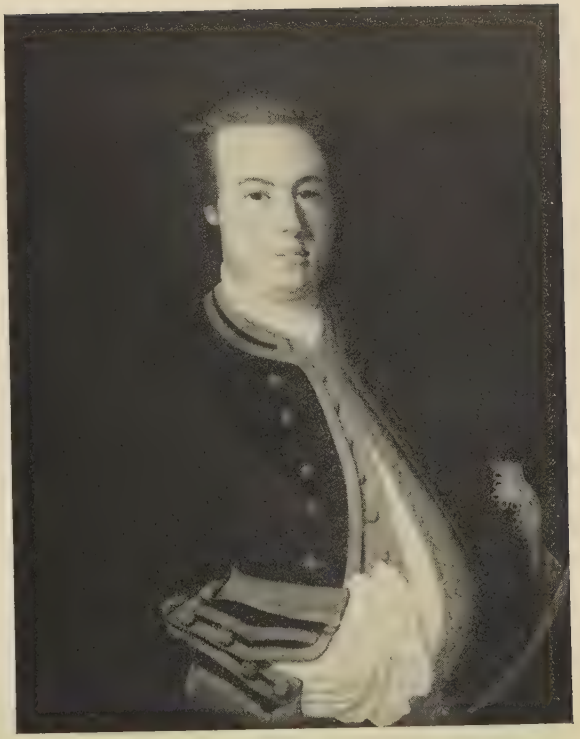
[16] Ms. "Registry" (Trinity Parish Office, New York City). Dr. Ogilvie consistently misspelled the Mare name "Mairs," as he had in the baptismal record of the artist's brother Henry (see note 9 above). The marriage record of John Mare and Ann Morris has not been found, doubtless because it was made in Trinity Parish, New York City, and was destroyed with the other vital records of that Parish by the fire of 1776. Their son John may possibly be the "John Marr" who married "Abigail Patchan" on March 6, 1782. He would have been just under 22 years of age.—*Names of Persons for whom Marriage Licenses were issued by the Secretary of the Province of New York* (Albany: 1860), 255. However, the failure of John Mare, Sr., to mention either his daughter-in-law or her son in his will, dated October 6, 1761, may indicate that both had died shortly after the child was born.

[17] See "Catalogue Raisonné of John Mare" at the end of this article.



HENRY LIVINGSTON (1714–1799)

Signed and dated: "Jn° Mare / Pinx^t / 1760"
(From photograph *c.* 1875 before restoration)



ROBERT MONCKTON (1726–1782)

Signed and dated: "Jn° Mare. / Pinx^t / 1761"
(Still under investigation by the owner)

The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

If the dated signature: "Jn° Mare/Pinx^t/1761" upon a portrait said to be of *Robert Monckton*, who arrived in New York as Governor in October 1761, should prove to be genuine and the sitter's identification to be correct, the artist must have returned to the city by that date.[18] His presence in the city by the fall of 1761 is further supported by his father's will, dated October 6, 1761, which, in referring to John, makes no mention of his being "of Albany," as presumably it would have done had the artist still been living there. However, the first unquestioned record of his activity as an artist in New York City is that of his admittance on October 1, 1765, to the freedom of the city as "John Mare Jun^r., Limner."[19] But that he had already gone far to establish a reputation as a competent portrait painter is proved by the circumstance that, when it was thought necessary to placate the King by securing his portrait for the City Hall as a counterbalance to one of William Pitt, foe of the Stamp Act, just received from England, John Mare, Jr., if not actually commissioned to paint it, was the artist whose portrait was accepted and paid for by the Common Council.[20]

The circumstances surrounding the painting of that portrait are of considerable historical interest. There had been talk in the Colony for some time of honoring the great Pitt with a statue for his efforts toward getting the hated Stamp Act repealed. On March 18, 1766, the very day on which Parliament passed the repealer, Captain John Montressor of his Majesty's forces in New York made the following entry in his Journal:

> The Sons of Liberty [are] preparing to have a procession, with Sir Jeffry Amherst's effigy, afterwards to burn it, as they say he proposed to augment the military forces in America, towards the more effectual forcing the Stamp Act. [They] Also propose, erecting a statue of Mr. Pitt (as a friend) in the Bowling Green, on the identical spot where the

[18] The provenance and attribution of the portrait is at present under investigation by the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., which owns the picture and by whose courtesy photographs of the portrait and of its inscription are reproduced herein.

[19] *NYHS Coll. 1885*, 206.

[20] See the Council Minute quoted below.

Lieut. Governor's [Cadwallader Colden's] chariot was burned and to name that Green "Liberty Green" forever.[21]

This proposal, in the form of a petition, was carried to the General Assembly where it was received with favor and implemented by law. "But the Legislature apparently could hardly justify the expenditure of a sum of money to honor Pitt and ignore the King, so we find the first suggestion for the famous Equestrian Statue of King George III originating in the Assembly of the Colony of New York in June, 1766." The Assembly authorized and provided payment for both statues simultaneously, both to be executed by the same sculptor in London and to be erected in the City of New York at practically the same time.[22] A similar dilemma faced the Common Council of the City of New York when it desired to show esteem for Pitt the "Patriot and Friend to America" by hanging his portrait on its walls. How dare they so honor the great Whig and ignore his touchy royal master, particularly at a time when his majesty's birthday was about to be celebrated? At a meeting of the Common Council on June 10, 1766, it was minuted that:

> Mr. Mayor Informed this Board that William Davis of this City Marriner hath lately Delivered to him to be Presented to this Board the picture of the Right Honourable William Pitt, Sat in an Elegant and Genteel frame, and this Board in order to Demonstrate the Great value and esteem they have for the person of so great a Patriot & friend to America as the said William Pitt, do hereby in turn for the Compliment of the said William Davis, ORDER that the Freedom of this Corporation be prepared & presented to him, & that the Clerk prepare one accordingly & deliver the same to Mr. Mayor who is desired to present it to the said William Davis with the thanks of this Board.[23]

It is probable that Davis had purchased the picture of Pitt at the instigation of the Council itself or, at any rate, that they knew of it considerably in advance of its actual presentation, for at that time John Mare had already executed what appears to

[21] *NYHS Coll. 1881*, 353.

[22] A. J. Wall, "The Statues of King George III and the Honorable William Pitt Erected in New York City 1770," *NYHS Quart. Bull.*, July 1920, p. 37.

[23] *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York 1675-1776* (1905), VII:20; *NYHS Coll. 1885*, 538–9.

have been a confidential commission to paint the required portrait of the King in anticipation of that event. The Assembly, in order not to wound the royal vanity unduly, had commissioned the same sculptor to do both statues simultaneously. This the Common Council, unless they were to reject the portrait of Pitt which Davis had already obtained, could not do; but they did the next best thing: kept the Pitt portrait under wraps until, in their opinion, the best available New York artist could present them with a portrait of the King. And so it was that on June 10, 1766, just prior to the above-quoted enthusiastic announcement of the Pitt portrait, the Common Council, without flourish or sentiment:

> Ordered the mayor [to] Issue his warrant to the Treasurer of this City to pay to John Mare Junr. or order the sum of £24 for the Painting of his present Majesty which he presented to this Corporation.[23a]

No trace of Mare's portrait of *George III* can now be found, but it can be said with assurance that it was undoubtedly based upon one of the numerous engravings with which the shops of New York were then well stocked.[24] Quite possibly the supposed stylistic vagaries of the ostensibly well-pedigreed portrait of "Governor Sir Henry Moore," signed and dated "Jn Mare/ Pinxt/1766," may be accounted for by its, too, having been founded upon a print. Appointed to succeed General Monckton as Governor of New York, Moore had arrived in the city on November 13, 1765, and retained the office until his death, September 11, 1769. He was therefore, unlike the King, available to sit for Mare in 1766, and it seems plausible enough for the new Governor to have commissioned the painter of his predecessor (should the *Robert Monckton* prove to be genuine) and the paid limner of the King to paint his own likeness either from life or from an earlier work; but a doubt has been cast on the authenticity of the portrait[25] which cannot now be located for

[23a] *Min. Com. Coun.*, VII:20.

[24] See, for instance, the Ms. Acct. Books of Samuel Deall (NYHS), 1766.

[25] The photo-mount at the Frick Art Reference Library carries the notation of a judgment based upon an inspection of the photograph at FARL, October 1948, that one authority "does not believe in the authenticity of the above signature. He does not think that the portrait is by John Mare."

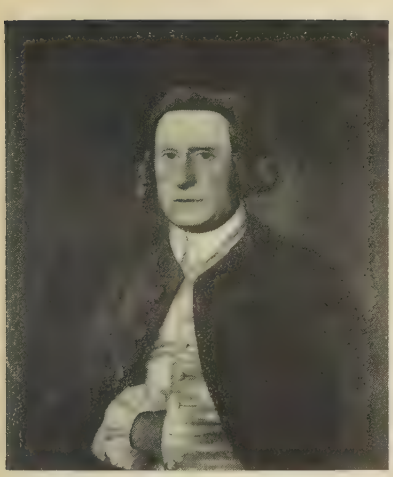
study, having passed from sight since its purchase at the Burlingham Collection Sale in 1934.[26] The question of the identity of the subject and the authenticity of the signature of the portrait said to be of *Sir Henry Moore* must therefore be left open, pending its rediscovery and availability for study. Students venturing a negative opinion based upon a comparison of reproductions should bear in mind, however, that a portrait copy may reflect stylistic idiosyncrasies of the original quite at variance with those habitual to the copyist. In saying this, it is not intended to overrule the possibility that Mare painted the *Moore* portrait from life. In fact, should future students find the pedigree and signature to be genuine, the very simplicity of the costume might well indicate its origin in 1766, when the Governor is reported to have put on homespun for political reasons, rather than as a copy of an earlier likeness.[26a]

If, on the other hand, the *Sir Henry Moore* should turn out upon further investigation to be a copy of an earlier portrait, it would not be the only extant work by John Mare to exhibit characteristics foreign to his portraits from life. The sympathetic portrayal of *Henry Lloyd* (1685–1763) of Lloyd's Neck—unquestionably an authentic portrait, never out of the family and signed "Jn°. Mare fecit./1767"—reveals, along with Mare's rather "stiff" manner of portraiture, the unmistakable method of John Wollaston: the tilted almond eyes, the dangling hand (see, for instance Wollaston's *William Walton* at The New-York Historical Society), the shadow of a smile, and the characteristic colors of this London painter who first appeared in New York in 1749 and painted prolifically there until 1753.[27] So pronounced are these Wollaston mannerisms in the portrait that its one-time

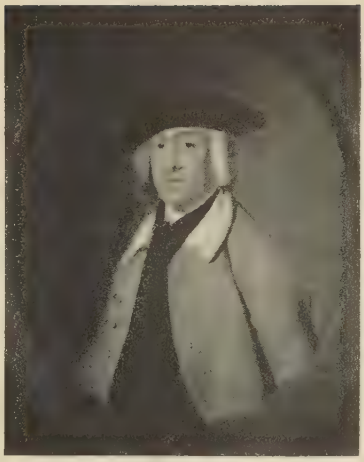
[26] Catalogue, Hiram Burlingham Collection Sale, American Art Association-Anderson Galleries, New York, January 11, 1934. A diligent search by the author of this article proved unsuccessful in tracing the purchaser, listed in the annotated Catalogue as Agnes Peyton of New York.

[26a] See the discussion of this portrait in "Catalogue Raisonné of John Mare" at the end of this article.

[27] See George C. Groce, "John Wollaston's Portrait of Thomas Appleford, Dated 1746," *NYHS Quarterly*, October 1950; John Hill Morgan, *Early American Painters Illustrated by Examples in the Collection of The New-York Historical Society* (New York: The Society, 1921), 48–53.



WERDEN-WILCOCKS GENTLEMAN
By John Mare, *c.* 1760–1771
(Attributed by Waldron Phoenix Belknap)
Owned by Mr. Henry N. Flynt



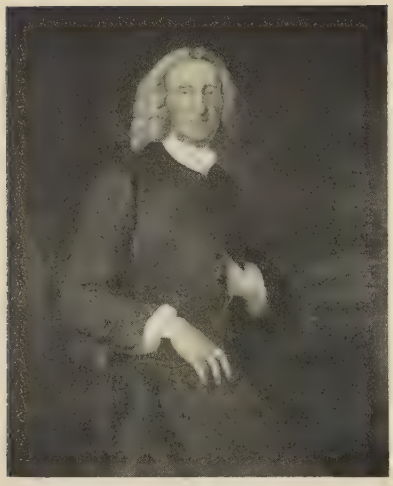
SIR HENRY MOORE (1713–1769)
Signed: "Jn̄ Mare / Pinx^{t} / 1766"
(Photo, courtesy of Parke-Burnet)
Last recorded owner: Agnes Peyton

attribution to that artist, based upon a reproduction,[28] might never have been questioned except for the discovery of the signature which the reproduction failed to show. These considerations together with the 1767 date in the inscription, proving this to be a posthumous portrait (the subject having died in 1763), would be evidence enough for stating this to be a copy by John Mare after a lost original by John Wollaston even without confirmation by a contemporary letter among the Lloyd Family papers proving it to be a copy by Mare. Before quoting that proof, it should be stated that the original Wollaston was undoubtedly the portrait referred to in a letter of May 22, 1750, from Henry Lloyd II to his father, the subject of the painting, at Queens Village, Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, in which he says:

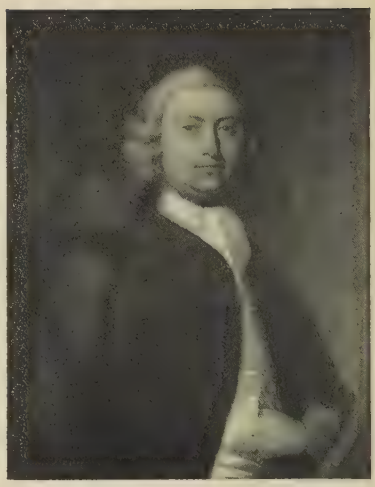
> . . . if it pleases God to give you so much health as to visit New York again pray let me begg it as a favour that you sett for your Picture and let it be at my Expence.[29]

[28] In the Reverend Melancthon Lloyd Woolsey's *The Lloyd Manor of Queens Village* (Baltimore: [The Order of Colonial Lords of Manors in America], 1925), p. 15.

[29] *Papers of the Lloyd Family of the Manor of Queens Village, Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, New York 1654–1826*, in *NYHS Collections 1926*, 453.



HENRY LLOYD I
(1685–1763)
Signed: "Jn°. Mare fecit. / 1767"
(Copy after John Wollaston, *c.* 1750–51)
Owned by Mrs. J. Nelson Borland



ROBERT GILBERT LIVINGSTON
(1713–1789)
A copy by John Mare, *c.* 1760–65
(Original attributed to John Wollaston)
Owned by Mrs. Philip K. Condict

Wollaston evidently executed the painting in New York City some time before June 17, 1751, for on that date the son again wrote to Henry Lloyd I at Queens Village, saying: "I send 8 Bundles Hay more which hope will be sufficient to complete the charge of your picture[. I] have ordered Conkling to pay you the ballance."[30]

Henry Lloyd II was living in Boston in 1767 but the Wollaston portrait of his then-deceased father, which he still owned, remained at the homestead in Queens Village, Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, then under the stewardship of his brother Joseph Lloyd II. Their brother Dr. James Lloyd of Boston desired that a copy of their father's portrait be made for him, obtained Henry II's consent thereto, and commissioned John Mare of New York City to paint it. Thereupon he wrote from Boston to his brother Joseph at Lloyd's Neck, under date of August 15, 1767, as follows:

> I have got Mr. Mare to take a copy of my father's [Henry Lloyd I's]

[30] *Ibid.*, 484.

picture and brother [Henry] Lloyd [II] has consented that he [Mare] should take the picture [from the Lloyd home at Lloyd's Neck] to New York with him. I hope you will let him have it [for the purpose of making a copy] but see that it is carefully packed in a box fit for the purpose.[31]

Another portrait, which, if a family tradition that it was painted by John Mare about 1765[32] should prove to be correct, suggests its origin as the copy of an original also by Wollaston, is that of *Robert Gilbert Livingston* (1713–1789), the brother of Henry Livingston whose portrait John Mare signed and dated 1760. The treatment of the eyes and costume, the landscape background, such as appears in Mare's other known works only in his copy of Wollaston's *Henry Lloyd I*, the apparent age of the sitter and the strong likeness to Wollaston's portrait of the subject's cousin, *Robert R. Livingston*, are reasons which suggest Wollaston as the painter of the hypothetical original. A former attribution of this portrait to Joseph (mistakenly called Jonathan B.) Blackburn[33] can be rejected for reasons of style and because "There has never been any evidence of Blackburn visiting New York State, and no portraits by him of residents of this State are known to exist."[34] The portrait of *Robert Gilbert Livingston* has descended directly in the Livingston and Wainwright families to the present owner.[35] It is in the original frame—almost identical with the frame of Thomas McIlworth's portrait (*c.* 1762–1767) of *John Duncan*—and may well have come from the shop of the New York dealer, Samuel Deall, whom Mare's contemporary McIlworth patronized.[36] In the author's opinion the portrait of

[31] Transcript obtained by telephonic dictation from Mrs. J. Nelson Borland, the present owner of the Mare portrait, whose husband was a direct descendant of Dr. James Lloyd for whom the copy was made. See also *NYHS Collections for the Year 1927*, index. The photograph reproduced was obtained from FARL.

[32] Typed inscription pasted to back of photograph taken in 1936 for the then-owner of the portrait, the late Col. J. Mayhew Wainwright of Rye, N. Y., a descendant of the subject.

[33] Information by courtesy of Mrs. Philip K. Condict, the former Fonrose Wainwright, the present owner, in a letter to the author dated August 1, 1951.

[34] William Sawitzky in NYHS *Quarterly*, April 1951, 129.

[35] See the "Catalogue" at the end of this article.

[36] Susan Sawitzky, "Thomas McIlworth (active 1758 to *c.* 1769) Identified by William Sawitzky and Katharine Hastings . . . ," NYHS *Quarterly*, April 1951, 138–139. A portion of each frame is reproduced at the head of this article, the one from *John Duncan* on the left (by courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Edgar H. Sittig, the

Robert Gilbert Livingston is a copy by John Mare, (possibly made in 1760 at Livingston Manor along with the dated portrait of his brother Henry, or later in the decade at New York City where he was living in Queen Street by 1774 and where his brother served as a legislator until 1768), from an undiscovered original by John Wollaston, *c.* 1750–52.

In the same year that Mare copied, signed and dated the portrait of *Henry Lloyd*, he painted from life "the stiff [but vigorous] likeness" of *John Keteltas* (1739–1768), "a member of one of New York's oldest families, the owners of the Keteltas Mansion formerly at St. Mark's Place and Second Avenue," and related by marriage to the Beekmans of that city.[37] The artist signed and dated this work: "Jn°. Marc./Pinx[i]/1767." The portrait is of historical importance, not only as a "key" picture to Mare's works, but also as "the first, widely known *trompe l'oeil* in American Art history." "The whole thing revolves around a common, or house, fly. It has settled on the left, white shirt sleeve of the sitter, ready to 'fool the eye' of the first unwary spectator."[38] "For certain minds it is still a temptation to try brushing the insect away; and if such an impulse is a tribute to artistic quality, Marc should be acknowledged as a master. His technical feat is amazing even to the sophisticated eye . . . ."[39] William Sawitzky, in his lecture of January 27, 1942, at The New-York Historical Society, said of it: "It immediately reminds you of one of those Dutch still lives where they loved to paint drops of water and butterflies and snails and insects. This is the only case that I have ever seen in American painting where an insect was put into a portrait."

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owners), and the one from *Robert Gilbert Livingston* on the right (by courtesy of Mr. Willis L. M. Reese who lent the photograph and of Mrs. Philip K. Condict who owns the portrait).

[37] *Life in America, A Special Loan Exhibition of Paintings Held during the Period of the New York World's Fair . . .* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1939), 14 (repro. no. 21); William Sawitzky, Lecture at The New-York Historical Society, January 27, 1942. The photographs of the portrait and of its inscription, reproduced herein, were obtained from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

[38] George C. Groce in NYHS *Quarterly*, April 1948, 122.

[39] Virgil Barker, *American Painting* (New York: 1950), 83.

It was William Sawitzky, too, who in 1943 attributed to John Mare the similarly posed and costumed portrait of *Gerard G. Beekman* (1746–1822), John Keteltas's kinsman, which descended in the Beekman Family until bequeathed about 1909 by Mrs. Gertrude Beekman of Tarrytown, N.Y., to the Historical Society of the Tarrytowns, where it now hangs at Philipse Castle Restoration.[40] Although formerly attributed to John Wollaston, perhaps owing to the Wollaston influence in the treatment of the eyes, the portrait shows the vigor and directness of an original and was beyond question painted by John Mare from life. It can be assigned with assurance to the period *c.* 1769+ and is therefore the last of the Mare portraits, so far discovered and dated, to have come from his brush.

Undoubtedly John Mare painted many portraits of other members of the prominent New York and Hudson Valley families with which his extant portraits prove him to have had connections, and it is hoped that this introduction to his life and work will help to bring some of them to light. One such is the unsigned portrait of a *Gentleman of the Werden-Wilcocks Family* first attributed to John Mare by the late Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr.[41]—an attribution seconded by the present writer.

The only discovered portrait by John Mare of a non-New York resident is one thought to be of *John Torrey* (1734–1808) of Boston, signed and dated: "Jn°. Mare/Pinx^t. 1768," now owned by the subject's great-great-grandson at Melrose, Massachusetts. Quite possibly the portrait of Torrey's brother *William Torrey* (1729–1760+), reproduced without attribution in 1924 in the Torrey genealogy,[42] but not located in the present survey, is also by John Mare. No other certain evidence has been found that Mare ever worked beyond the Province, and it is possible that these merchant brothers came to New York in 1768 and were painted here. The letter of Dr. James Lloyd,

[40] See "Catalogue" at end of this article. The photograph reproduced herein was obtained from FARL.

[41] Information from Ginsburg & Levy, New York City, who held the portrait to 1951, when it was sold, and who provided the photograph reproduced herein.

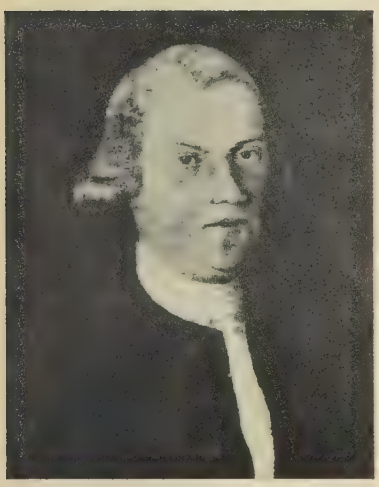
[42] Frederic C. Torrey, *The Torrey Families and their Children in America*, I (1924), 141, 142.

quoted above, can be interpreted, however, to indicate that John Mare visited Boston in the summer of 1767 and he may well have gone there again in 1768, where it is possible that other portraits painted by him may someday be found.

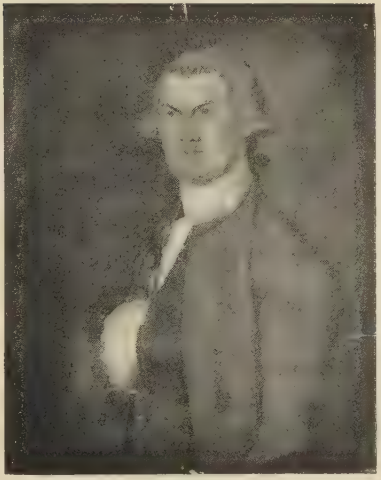
If John Mare did go to Boston in search of commissions in 1768, the reason for his doing so may be found in the growing competition for portrait commissions in his native city. At the outset of his career, following the departure of Benjamin West in 1759 via Philadelphia for Italy, of William Williams conjectually about 1761–62 for the West Indies, and of Thomas McIlworth in 1762 for Albany, John Mare's only remaining competitor in the portrait business in New York City appears to have been Lawrence Kilburn who had arrived from London in 1754, followed Mare to Albany in the summer of 1761, and advertised in 1765, the year in which Mare obtained the freedom of the city as a limner, that "at present there is no other Portrait painter in the city but himself."[43] This happy state of near-monopoly ended, however, in 1767, when Abraham Delanoy, "just arrived from London," and John Durand set up rival studios in the city. And they were only the first of several portrait painters who, during the next half dozen years, announced their availability to New Yorkers desiring likenesses of themselves. In 1768 Cosmo Alexander appeared fleetingly in the city as a portraitist. In 1769 Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere advertised in the New York papers as a "minature painter" and William Williams —Mare's conjectural brother-in-law—as a "Painter at Rembrandt's Head, in Batteaux-street." John Singleton Copley arrived for work in New York in 1771 and Matthew Pratt in 1772.[44] There was simply not enough work to go around. Although "Copley earned more than three hundred pounds Ster-

[43] Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York 1726–1776*, 3–5. A Stephen Dwight advertised for employment "in the Portrait way" in 1763 (*ibid.*, 3) but no evidence has been found that he met with any success. For the conjecture concerning Williams, see the section relating to him below.

[44] *Ibid.*, 3–7; William Kelby, *Notes on American Artists 1754–1820* (New-York Historical Society, 1922), 1–9; George C. Groce, "New York Painting before 1800," *New York History*, January 1938, 54–57; William Sawitzky, *Matthew Pratt 1734–1805* (New-York Historical Society, 1942), 6, 16. Many other artists came to New York or began practicing there before the century ended.



WILLIAM TORREY (1729–1768+)
Attributed to John Mare, 1768, from repro. in *The Torrey Families* (1924)



JOHN TORREY (1734–1808)
Signed: "Jn°. Mare / Pinxt. 1768"
Owned by Mr. Frederick H. Metcalf

ling during his visit here from July to December 1771," the others were forced to resort to other means of livelihood or to look elsewhere for commissions. "Kilburn ran a paint store and seems to have died in poverty; Abraham Delanoy, Jr., despite his training under West and the delicacy of his mature craftsmanship, somehow found it difficult to win friends or influence people, ended his unhappy life as a sign painter." [45] Pratt, Williams, and Simitiere left the Province. And John Mare, who may have found a temporary haven in Boston in 1768, folded his tents and retraced his early search for commissions upriver, where he opened a studio in 1772 in Albany.

By this time his wife, perhaps with her infant son, and his widowed mother seem to have been dead and the artist, with little to tie him longer to his native city, found himself compelled to mortgage his inherited property to finance his pursuit of commissions elsewhere. When John Mare, Sr., had died in 1766, his will had provided, among other bequests, as follows: "I give and bequeath to my son John Mare one of my Lotts of land in the

[45] Groce, *op. cit.*, 51; Kelby, *op. cit.*, 3, 8.

Outward of this City nigh fresh water together with all the buildings thereon Erected which he shall chose . . . to be put into his hands at his mother's decease . . . ." He chose Lot 38 "bounded Westerly in Front by a street commonly called Mulberry Street, Northerly by land belonging to Obadiah Wells, Easterly by Land the property of John [Kingston] and Southerly by a Lot of Ground belonging to Archibald Getfield containing in Front Twenty Seven Feet and in the rear twenty five Feet and in length on each side eighty seven Feet all English measure . . . ." No doubt in order to obtain funds to finance his new venture in Albany, "John Mare of the City of New York Portrait-Painter" mortgaged this property for £150 "to Ennis Graham of the said City" on December 4, 1771. Since Mare's wife was not joined with him as mortgagor, as had been the case ten years earlier when his father "John Mare of the City of New-York and Mary his wife did mortgage" the same property in the same amount, presumably Ann Morris Mare, the artist's wife, had died.[46] Almost immediately after the negotiation of this loan, John Mare set out for Albany, and in the *Albany Gazette* of January 27, 1772, he announced his arrival as follows:

Albany, the 13th January, 1772.

Mr. Mare, Portrait Painter, purposing to reside part of this Winter in Town; has taken Lodgings at the House of Mr. John Prince, and will be much obliged to such Gentlemen and Ladies, as may choose to favour him with their Commands.[47]

[46] Ms. Wills recorded in the Surrogate's office of the County of New York, Liber 25, p. 414, dated October 6, 1761, proved December 5, 1766; Ms. Mortgages (Hall of Records, City of New York), Liber 2, p. 503, "Registered for at the request of Mr. Ennis Graham of the City of New York, Merchant this 10th day of March Anno Domini 1772"; *ibid.*, Liber 1, p. 252, "Registered for and at the request of Mr. Andrew Marcellus of the City of New York, Merchant, December 7, 1761."

If the failure of John Mare, Sr., to mention his daughter-in-law and her son in his will, as he mentioned the children of his daughter Mary Mare Williams, may be taken to indicate their decease, then the artist must have lost his wife and child before that will was dated in 1761. Diligent search has failed to discover any subsequent record proving the son to have survived infancy or the artist's wife to have survived her son.

[47] For a transcript of this advertisement the author is obliged to Prof. Carl Bridenbaugh, formerly director of the Institute of Early American Culture and History at Williamsburg, Va., and to Dr. George C. Groce through whom the transcript was made available for this study. The *Albany Gazette* for January 27, 1772, is available at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

That Mare was confident of the success of this venture is indicated by the terms of the above-cited mortgage which called for repayment of "the just and full sum of one hundred and fifty pounds current money of New York with lawful interest for the same on or before the first Day of May next ensuing." Whether or not these hopes were fulfilled; whether he continued to reside in Albany, returned permanently to New York, or went someplace else; or whether he ever painted another picture, no further discovered record clearly shows. But there is proof that the lot he mortgaged remained in the family and that John Mare (presumably the artist, since it is believed, for reasons already stated, that his son had died in infancy) acquired the contiguous lot on the north sometime during the decade 1785–1795. Two land conveyances executed by "Peter Stuyvesant of the City of New York, Gentleman & Margaret, his wife," both dated March 27, 1795, refer to "John Mare" as "now or formerly" the owner of Lot No. 39 on Mulberry Street; and one of them describes Lot No. 38 (fronting on Mulberry Street and abutting Mott Street lots in the rear) as "now or late belonging to William Williams" (Mare's nephew). It was the latter lot which John Mare, Jr., had inherited from his father and mortgaged in 1771, so it may be presumed that he satisfied the terms of the mortgage and later conveyed the property to William (Joseph) Williams, his sister's son, whose studio was already "in the suburbs, now Mott Street," when William Dunlap studied under him in 1781–82. Lot No. 39, described in 1795 as "now or late belonging to John Mare," had been owned by Obadiah Wells (an executor of the elder Mare's will) when the artist mortgaged the adjoining lot in 1771; but Wells sold it to Frederick Jay on November 2, 1784; so John Mare must have acquired it from Jay sometime after that date and before March 27, 1795.[47a]

[47a] Ms. Land Conveyances (Hall of Records, New York City): Peter Stuyvesant and wife to John Wilson, recorded March 4, 1796, Liber 51, p. 144; the same grantors to James Howie, dated the same, *ibid.*, 146; Obadiah Wells to Frederick Jay, *ibid.*, November 2, 1784. See also documents cited in notes 46 above and the text regarding William (Joseph) Williams below; also *NYHS Coll. 1905*, 355 (which records letters of administration granted Jan. 15, 1791, on the estate of Archibald Gatfield whose Lot 37 bounded Mare's (later Williams' on the south); *ibid. 1906*, 102 (the

Having disposed of his inherited property to his nephew, it may be doubted that Mare would have purchased adjoining property except with the intention of returning to New York City to live upon it. If so, where had he been living in the meantime following his venture at Albany? Part of the time, perhaps, in Philadelphia where the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has a manuscript account of the Philadelphia merchants "E. Dutith & C°. To John Mare D^r^" dated 1786, signed "J. Mare" and endorsed, May 12, 1790: "Received in Acct for M^r^ John Mare." There is no certainty, however, that this or a number of other Pennsylvania records, covering the two decades ending 1791 which refer to "John Mair" or "Mares" relate to the artist.[48] But it is unbelievable that an artist of his competence, who seems to have lived for more than two decades after the last discovered record of his activity as a portraitist (in Albany, 1772), should have ceased to paint at thirty-two years of age. A prediction can therefore be ventured that future investigations may uncover portraits by his hand of a later origin than any so far known—perhaps at Albany, where he last advertised as an artist; or at Boston, where the memory of earlier commissions may have enticed him to return; or at Philadelphia, where a John Mare was recorded 1786–1790; or at his native New York City, where the last known reference to him is a record of property "now or late belonging to John Mare," March 27, 1795, at which date the artist would have been but fifty-six years old.

When the artist died, or where, is not known. A search of the records of the County Clerk of Albany, of the probate records in the Clerk's Office of the New York Court of Appeals, and of the records of the Surrogate's Court of the County of New York, and of the like records of Philadelphia and Boston, failed to disclose either the probate of a will or letters of administration for

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will of Gatfield's son Charles, dated April 3, 1788, showing his then-ownership of Lot 37); and *ibid.*, 226–7 (the will of Obadiah Wells, dated later than 1785 and proved 1800, proving him no longer to be the owner of Lot 39).

[48] *Pennsylvania Archives, Third Series*, XI:652, 687; XVI:723; XVII:180; XXII:692; *Freemen of the City of Philadelphia*, 1771; Ms. Collection, HSP (photostat of document cited, in possession of the author); Philadelphia City *Directory*, 1791.

the estate of John Mare.[40] It is presumed, however, that he died in New York City, where he passes from sight, aged fifty-six years, in 1795.

THE TWO WILLIAM WILLIAMS'

The clue to the further identification of the two William Williams', portrait painters, is contained in the above-cited will of John Mare's father. In that will, dated October 6, 1761, John Mare, Sr., bequeathed "the sum of five pounds" to his "daughter Mary Williams"—the artist's sister—"and the like sum to my Grandson William Williams also my little Granddaughter named Mary Williams . . . ." It has been previously mentioned that the marriage record of Mary Mare Williams and the baptismal records of her two above-named children were destroyed in the Trinity Church fire of 1776, but it is possible to infer the dates of the marriage and births with some definiteness. The artist's sister Mary could hardly have been born earlier than 1740–41, for, as noted earlier, her parents had married in 1738 and her brother's birth had preceded hers. As she would probably not have married younger than seventeen or eighteen years of age, she must have become Mrs. Williams no earlier than 1758. Since her daughter was presumably an infant ("my *little* Granddaughter named Mary") in the fall of 1761, her son William could hardly have been born later than 1760 or, considering the earliest probable date of her marriage, earlier than 1759. We can therefore assert with some assurance that William Williams, the recorded nephew of the artist John Mare, was probably born sometime during the year 1759. The following facts not only confirm this conclusion but at the same time identify Mare's nephew with the artist who late in life added Joseph to his name and so came to be known in the art histories as William Joseph Williams.

[40] Letters from Donald L. Lynch, Albany County Clerk, December 1, 1948, John Ludden, Clerk of the New York Court of Appeals, December 7, 1948, and George Loesch, Clerk of the Surrogate's Court of the County of New York, December 10, 1948, to Mr. George C. Groce; *NYHS Coll. 1898–1908*, indexes; personal research at Hall of Records, New York City; and of the like records at Philadelphia and Boston.

In a Bible printed by Hudson & Co. at Hartford in 1816 and originally owned by Ann C. Williams, the artist's daughter (born 1808) who married John Ingalls in Newbern, N. C., where William (Joseph) Williams died in 1823, is recorded in her hand the place and date of her father's birth, along with the dates of his three marriages and of the births of some of his children, thus:

Wm. Williams. Born in New York,
Monday, Nov. 17, 1759.[50]

This record, together with the above-given account of the birth of John Mare's nephew, William Williams, and the fact that an exhaustive search of all other records pertaining to New York Williams' failed to reveal any other possible origin for William (Joseph) Williams, makes almost certain the conclusion that he was the son of Mary Mare Williams and the nephew of the artist John Mare. The confusion which has arisen because of his middle name is explained by the fact that until two years before his death he called himself, and was called, simply William Williams. In 1821 a Roman Catholic missionary priest, the Rt. Rev. John England, spent several days in Newbern, N.C., Williams' then home, where Williams was converted and on May 31, 1821, had his daughters confirmed in that faith, and himself assumed the confirmation name of Joseph.[51] Corroborating evidences that the portrait painter William (Joseph) Williams originated in New York City and sprang on one side from a New York family (presumably the Mares) are:

(1) There appeared an advertisement in the (New York City) *Royal Gazette* of March 6, 1779, when William (Joseph) Williams was twenty years of age, just entering his profession, as follows:

"William Williams, Portrait Painter, Acquaints the Ladies and Gentlemen, that he has taken a room, at Mr. Greswold's, No. 163, Queen Street, next door to Mr. Joseph Totten's, where he carries on the business of Portrait Painting in all its branches, on the most reasonable terms."[52]

[50] The entire record is transcribed in John F. Williams, *William Joseph Williams and His Descendants* (Privately printed, 1933), copy at NYPL.

[51] Records of St. Paul's R. C. Church, Newbern, N. C., as quoted in John F. Williams, *op. cit.*, 24. He appears to have been originally an Episcopalian. *Ibid.*

[52] Kelby, *Notes on American Artist*, 15.

(2) When William Dunlap (1766–1839) was fifteen or sixteen years old, then living in New York City, his father, seeing that he "aspired to be a painter, . . . looked out for an instructor" for him. (This was in 1781 or '82, when Williams was twenty-two or -three years of age.) The miniaturist John Ramage, "in reality the only artist [then] in New York, . . . was full of employment and declined teaching." Abraham Delanoy's "poverty did not tempt" young Dunlap "to become a painter" or his unprepossessing manners inspire "confidence in his pretension." So it was that Dunlap, in his autobiography, reported:

"The next in degree was William Williams, he undertook the task; I went to his rooms in the suburbs, now Mott Street, [*at or near the recorded location of John Mare's property*,] and he placed a drawing book before me, such as I had possessed for years: after a few visits the teacher was not to be found. I examined his portraits—tried his crayons, and soon procuring a set commenced painting portraits, beginning with my father's. . . . I thus commenced portrait painter in the year 1782. . . ."[53]

Some writers have interpreted this reference as pertaining to William Williams the elder, who, by his protégé West's testimony, was in London by 1780 and remained in England thereafter until his death. Furthermore, the manner of instruction described by Dunlap was not that of West's first teacher, nor is it possible to believe that Dunlap, who regarded West as "the most distinguished artist of the age in which he lived," would not have made much of the fact, if true, that his own first instructor was the same as West's. In fact, he says of the elder Williams that he "would have escaped our notice, but that Benjamin West remembered him with gratitude."[54] We must therefore put it down that the William Williams who advertised in 1779 and taught Dunlap in 1781–82 was the younger of that name.

(3) William (Joseph) Williams signed two of his four portraits of members of the Huggerford Family of New York: "William Williams, Pinxit Feb. 1783."

(4) William (Joseph) Williams, on July 5, 1792, was married to Jane Smalwood (called Jane Stewart in Ann C. Williams' Bible, the discrepancy being explained by a family belief that she was a widow) by the Reverend John H. Livingston at the Dutch Reformed Church, 113 Fulton Street, New York City.[55]

(5) On March 27, 1795, a land deed executed by "Peter Stuyvesant & Margaret, his wife" described then-Lot No. 22 on Mott Street as being bounded in the "rear partly by lott #39 now or late belonging to John Mare & also partly by lott number 38 now or late belonging to William

[53] William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of Arts of Design in the United States* (Bayley & Goodspeed ed., 1918), I:295–6.

[54] *Ibid.*, 1:30, 39, 109.

[55] Marriage Records of the New York Dutch Church, I:267. Rev. John H. Livingston was a son of the Henry Livingston whose portrait was painted by William (Joseph) Williams' uncle, John Mare, in 1760.

Williams." This lot owned by William (Joseph) Williams (No. 38 on Mulberry Street) is the same lot which John Mare, Sr., had mortgaged in 1761, and which John Mare, the artist, inherited and in turn mortgaged in 1771. Not only had William (Joseph) Williams come by the property through the artist Mare but John Mare also owned the contiguous lot No. 39 to the north of him. That this William Williams was the artist William (Joseph) Williams is indicated by Dunlap's statement, quoted above, that his 1781–82 instructor had "his rooms in the suburbs, now Mott Street." These facts, which make the artists John Mare and William (Joseph) Williams next door neighbors, so to speak, and successive owners of the same property, corroborate the conclusion that the one was uncle of the other.[55a]

(6) Having gone to Virginia where in 1792–1793 he obtained from the Governor of that State a letter of introduction to President Washington and a petition from the Alexandria Masonic Lodge for the President to sit for his portrait; to Philadelphia where in 1793–1797 he painted Washington and other subjects; to South Carolina where in 1798–1804 he married his second and third wives; and finally to Newbern, N. C., where in 1804–1807 he established the home in which the last years of his life (1817–1823) would be spent; William (Joseph) Williams returned in 1807 to New York City where he remained with his family for ten more years. According to family tradition, he did so because he had relatives there and a better opportunity for his talents. Attending the Episcopal Church, he had his new-born daughter christened by Bishop Moore on July 16, 1808, in Trinity Church, presumably for his mother *Mary* Mare Williams, *Mary* Elizabeth. During this period the New York City Directories listed him as "W^m^ Williams, artist" or "portrait painter."[56]

(7) When his youngest son, Joseph Augustus Williams (1819–1875) visited New York in 1848 it was for the expressed purpose of meeting friends and relatives of his father and to see the great things his father had seen there. In New York City he married.[57]

All things considered, it can be said with considerable assurance that the artist William (Joseph) Williams (1759–1823) was the nephew of the artist John Mare. Can his biographer's statement of a family belief that William (Joseph) Williams "learned

[55a] See documents cited in note 46 above and Stuyvesant Deeds in Land Conveyances (Hall of Records, New York City), Liber 51, p. 144, 146.

[56] John F. Williams, *op. cit., passim;* NYC Directories, 1809 16; baptismal records of Trinity Church. His biographer states that "his baptismal record cannot be found" (lost in the Trinity fires along with his mother's marriage to [William?] Williams and most of the other Mare and Williams records). The Philadelphia Directories of 1796 and 1797 also list him simply as "William Williams, gentleman" or "portrait painter."

[57] Williams, *op. cit.*

portrait painting from his father," and that his father was "the William Williams who taught [Benjamin] West," also be confirmed? Not with certainty, but the following circumstances point toward that conclusion.

Though John Mare, Sr., did not mention his daughter's husband in his will and though the record of his marriage to her was destroyed in the Trinity Church fire of 1776, the probabilities are strong that their first-born son, William Williams, was named for him. That practice was common, though not invariable, even as today. The Mares, father and son, both followed it in naming their sons; also did the painter Thomas McIlworth. Family tradition among the descendants of William (Joseph) Williams, identified in this study as John Mare's nephew, is that his father did so too. Without further evidence, therefore, the likelihood is that the husband of Mary Mare Williams, John Mare's brother-in-law, was named William. Could this William Williams have been the painter called by William Sawitzky "the mysterious William Williams"? The outline of the known chronology of that artist's career must first be weighed.

Said to have been born at Bristol, England, at a date not yet determined, Williams first appears as an artist in Philadelphia in 1746 or 1747 when he gave young Benjamin West his first instruction in painting. He painted the lost portrait of *Benjamin Lay* of Philadelphia presumably sometime before Lay's death in 1759. This work was engraved by Henry Dawkins who inscribed the plate "W. Williams Pinx'/H. D. Fecit." Dawkins advertised as an engraver in New York City in 1755, but went to Philadelphia two years later, though he had returned to New York by 1776 when he was arrested there as a counterfeiter of Continental currency. In 1758 Williams' friend and former pupil, Benjamin West, also came to New York seeking commissions and continued his stay there until late 1759. That Williams and West were in personal touch with each other during this period is indicated by West's report that, having discovered the principle of the camera obscura during an illness in 1757, "on afterwards mentioning his discovery to Williams the painter,

[he] was surprised to find himself anticipated, that artist having received a complete camera some time before from England." Probably not more than a year or two before 1763, William Williams went to the West Indies, for in the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* of that year he advertised that, "Being lately returned from the West-Indies" (where an itinerant artist would surely have skimmed the cream of available commissions within a matter of perhaps months), he had opened a studio "at the Sign of Hogarths Head" in Philadelphia. He painted the three portraits of the Hall children there, one of which he dated 1766, and he also painted the scenery for the Southwark Theater which opened in Philadelphia in 1766. By 1769, he had settled in New York City, where the following advertisement appeared in *The New-York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury* of May 8, 1769:

> William Williams, Painter, at Rembrandt's Head, in Batteaux-street, Undertakes painting in general, viz. History, Portraiture, landskip, sign painting, lettering, gilding, and stewing smalt [a method for coloring substances a cobalt blue]. N.B. He cleans, repairs, and varnishes, any old pictures of value, and teaches the art of drawing. Those ladies or gentlemen who may be pleased to employ him, may depend on care and dispatch.

Williams' portrait of *John Wiley, his mother, and sisters*, was executed with a Manhattan background in New York in 1771. His portrait of *Jacob Fox* of Port Royal, Virginia, is signed and dated "W^m^. Williams/Pinx^t^ 1774," as is his portrait of *the William Denning Family*. His last known painting in America is a portrait of an unidentified gentleman and his wife signed and dated "W^m^ Williams Pinx^t^/1775." Probably upon the outbreak of the Revolution the artist returned to the land of his birth, if the inscription, presumably in Williams' hand, on a pre-lettered proof of William Pether's mezzotint portrait of Benjamin West after a painting by Thomas Lawranson may be taken to indicate Williams' presence in London in 1776; the inscription reads: "Benjamin West, Esq. Painter to King George III A.D. 1776. The gift of Benj. West Esq. Painter to his much obliged friend

William Williams, Painter." He was certainly in England by 1780 if, as West is reported to have said, he posed for one of the figures in the boat in West's famous *The Battle of La Hogue* exhibited that year. Some years later he is reported to have died in poverty in Bristol, having said: "I have been a painter, but am now old and alone, and want only somewhere to end my life . . ."[58]

Assuming that Williams sailed for the West Indies in 1761 or 1762 (to give him as much as a year or so to complete the available portrait commissions in those islands before his return to Philadelphia in 1763), how can he be accounted for during the years immediately preceding his West Indies journey? Only two indications of his contacts during these years have been found in the literature pertaining to him. The first is his association through the portrait of *Benjamin Lay* with the engraver Henry Dawkins, either during Dawkins' first New York residence, *c.* 1753–*c.* 1757, or during his subsequent residence in Philadelphia and before Williams had gone to the West Indies; the second is his association with Benjamin West after West's discovery of the camera obscura in 1757 and before West's departure for Italy early in 1760. It will be remembered that Benjamin West spent almost a year, 1758–1759, in New York City during this period. Thus, during the eight or nine years immediately preceding Williams' departure *c.* 1761 or '62 for the West Indies, his two known associates of that period had spent altogether some five years in New York City. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to assume that Williams' association with one or both of them took place in that city.

If William Williams married in New York City about 1758,

[58] Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (1918), I:30, 39, 44–46; John Galt, *The Life and Studies of Benjamin West* . . . (Philadelphia: 1816), 39–40, 60–65; William Sawitzky, "Further Light on the Work of William Williams," *NYHS Quarterly*, July 1941, 101–112; James Thomas Flexner, "The Amazing William Williams," *Magazine of Art*, November 1944, 243–6, 276–8; Coad and Mims, *The American Stage* (1929), 24; *DAB*, "Henry Dawkins," "Benjamin West"; Graves, *Dictionary of Artists* (1884), 140, 182; *Bryan's Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* (1853), 567; Flexner, *First Flowers of Our Wilderness* (New York: 1947), 188.

as the following facts suggest, and if he were at least twenty-one or -two when he first appears in Philadelphia as West's instructor, he would have been fifteen or more years older than Mary Mare, the artist's sister. However, the further facts: (1) that Mary Mare married a Williams probably named William in New York City during Benjamin West's sojourn there, (2) that the first child of this marriage, born November 17, 1759, and named William (later William Joseph) Williams, also became an artist, (3) that William (Joseph) Williams is known to have had contacts and to have painted in New York, Philadelphia, and Virginia, where the elder Williams in each instance had worked before him, (4) that the descendants of this son believe his father to have been the artist William Williams—West's youthful mentor, and (5) that the elder Williams certainly resided in New York in and for some time after 1769, all point toward the conclusion that the artist William Williams (active in America *c.* 1746–*c.* 1775) was the father of William (Joseph) Williams (1759–1823) and the brother-in-law of John Mare (1739–*c.* 1795).

This conclusion is offered, not as a certainty, but as a suggestion subject to future verification or refutation. As an aid to the further investigation of John Mare and the two William Williams' the following joint chronology of the events of their lives as related above is presented. Italics indicate an inference, not specifically documented, but arrived at by the reasoning outlined on the basis of the evidence given. The two statements within brackets are based upon sources whose genuineness or accuracy is still under investigation. All other statements have been documented in the foregoing essay.

CHRONOLOGY OF JOHN MARE AND THE TWO WILLIAM WILLIAMS'

1738, April 26: John Mare, Sr., "from Devonshire, in Old England," and Mary Bes of New York married in the Dutch Church in New York City.

1739: John Mare, Jr., the future artist, born in New York City.

1740–1741: Mary Mare, the artist's sister, born in New York City.

1746–1747: William Williams instructs the boy Benjamin West in the art of painting in Philadelphia.

1754, January 9: John Mare, the elder, admitted to the freedom of the City of New York.

1757–1760: Benjamin West discussed the camera obscura with his mentor William Williams either in Philadelphia or (1758–1759) in New York.

1758: Benjamin West, Williams' friend and pupil, came to New York, where he stayed until late in 1759.

1758: William Williams, *the artist and friend of Benjamin West,* married Mary Mare, the artist's sister, in New York City.

1759, November 17: William (Joseph) Williams, *the nephew of John Mare,* was born in New York City.

1759: John Mare, the artist, married Ann Morris.

1760, April 15: Their son John baptised in Albany.

1760: Portrait of Henry Livingston signed and dated by John Mare.

[1761: Portrait of Governor Robert Monckton signed and dated by John Mare.]

1761, October 6: John Mare, Sr., in his will, refers to "my daughter Mary Williams," "my grandson William Williams," and "my little granddaughter named Mary Williams."

1761–1762: William Williams sailed for the West Indies.

1763, January 13: William Williams advertises his return to Philadelphia from the West Indies.

1765, October 1: "John Mare Jun^{r}., Limner," admitted to the freedom of the City of New York.

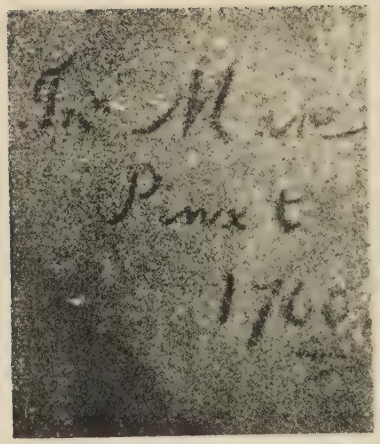
1766: William Williams signed and dated portrait of William Hall and painted scenery for Southwark Theater in Philadelphia.

1766, June 10: New York City treasurer ordered "to pay to John Mare Jun^{r}. . . . the sum of £24 for the Painting of his present Majesty which he presented to this Corporation."

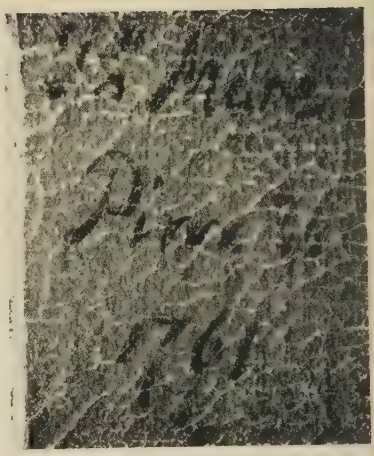
[1766: Portrait of Governor Sir Henry Moore signed and dated by John Mare.]

1766, December 5: Will of John Mare, Sr., proved. His son the artist was bequeathed Lot 38 on Mulberry Street.

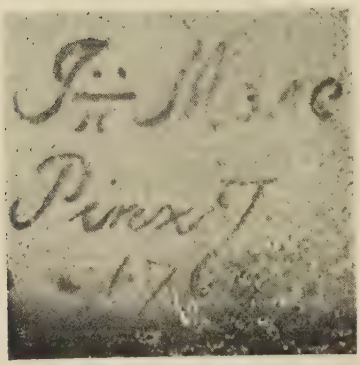
1767: Portraits of John Keteltas and Henry Lloyd I signed and dated by John Mare. On August 15th, Dr. James Lloyd of Boston wrote to his brother Joseph of Lloyd's Neck that Mr. Mare would take the *Wollaston* portrait of Henry Lloyd I to New York to copy.



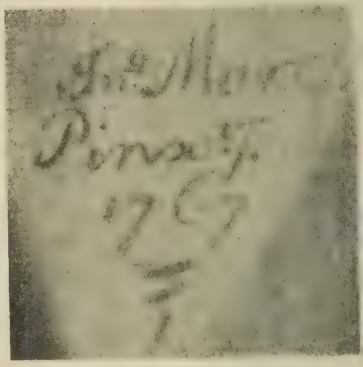
HENRY LIVINGSTON, 1760



ROBERT MONCKTON, 1761

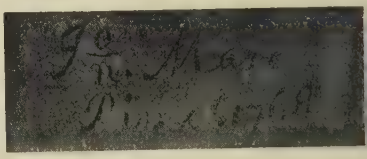


SIR HENRY MOORE, 1766



JOHN KETELTAS, 1767

HENRY LLOYD I, 1767



JOHN TORREY, 1768

The Six Known Signatures of John Mare Chronologically Arranged

1768: Portrait believed to be John Torrey of Boston signed and dated by John Mare.

1769, May 8: "William Williams, at Rembrandt's Head, in Batteaux-street, (N. Y. C.,) Undertakes painting in general. . . ."

1771: William Williams signed and dated portrait of John Wiley, his mother, and sisters, in New York City.

1771, December 7: John Mare mortgaged for £150 New York property inherited from his father.

1772, January 13: John Mare advertised as portrait artist in Albany. The advertisement appeared on January 27th. This is his last known record as an artist.

1774: William Williams signed and dated portraits of Jacob Fox of Port Royal, Virginia, and of the William Denning Family.

1775: William Williams signed and dated his last known American portrait.

1776–1780: William Williams returned to England.

1779, March 6: William (Joseph) Williams advertised as a portrait painter in New York.

1781–1782: William (*Joseph*) Williams had a studio "in the suburbs, now Mott Street," where William Dunlap went for instruction. This was probably Lot 38 fronting on Mulberry Street and abutting Mott Street lots in the rear, which John Mare had inherited from his father and which William (*Joseph*) Williams had acquired before 1795.

1783: William (Joseph) Williams signed two portraits of members of the Huggerford Family of New York: "William Williams, Pinxit Feb. 1783."

1784–1795: Sometime between November 2, 1784, and March 25, 1795, John Mare acquired Lot 39 on Mulberry Street. There is a record of a John Mare (*the artist?*) in Philadelphia, 1786–1790.

1792: William (Joseph) Williams married his first wife in New York City. He left the city, not to return till 1807. For his subsequent career see the text above.

1795, March 27: The last discovered record of John Mare was a reference to Lot 39 on Mulberry Street as "now or late belonging to John Mare" and as next to Lot 38 "now or late belonging to William Williams."

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ OF JOHN MARE

Of the twelve portraits listed below, six are known to be inscribed with the name of John Mare. The genuineness of two

of those signatures—on the "*Robert Monckton*" and "*Henry Moore*" known to the author only through photographs—has been questioned and in both cases the question is here necessarily left open. Four unquestioned signatures remain—those on the portraits of *Henry Livingston* (1760), *John Keteltas* (1767), *Henry Lloyd* (1767), and *John Torrey* (1768). Of the six unsigned portraits: the *George III* is known only through an unimpeachable documentary reference; the *Gerard G. Beekman* was first attributed to John Mare by William Sawitzky; the *Gentleman of the Werden-Wilcocks Family*, by Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr.; the *Robert Gilbert Livingston*, by family tradition accepted by the author with, however, the suggestion that Mare copied it after Wollaston; the *Dirck Brinckerhoff*, by the author on stylistic grounds and provenance; and the *William Torrey*, by the author by means of an obviously cropped halftone reproduction which nevertheless shows a marked similarity to the signed portrait of his brother John. Three of the listed portraits—*George III*, *Sir Henry Moore*, and *William Torrey*—cannot now be found. Of the nine located portraits, the *Henry Lloyd* is known to be a copy and the *Robert Gilbert Livingston* is believed by the author to be a copy—both of portraits, now lost, by John Wollaston.

The above-mentioned copies after Wollaston are the only portraits listed as by Mare which show landscape backgrounds. At least seven have plain dark brownish backgrounds and seven show full or partial ovals painted in darker color. Only one of the portraits—the so-called *Sir Henry Moore*—fails to show a hand thrust into the waistcoat (the *William Torrey* being cropped too much to count), and all but two have a flared ruffled cuff at the wrist of that hand. The second hand shows in only one portrait—the copy of Wollaston's *Henry Lloyd I*. Mare was meticulous in details of buttons, ruffles, decorations, and the depiction of the famous fly on the cuff of *John Keteltas*. He liked to paint his faces in high color. The highlights in the eyes are, except for *Sir Henry Moore's*, invariably placed at upper left

of the pupils. Every one of his known portraits is posed three-quarters front. All but one are waist-length and most are in the neighborhood of 30 by 25 inches, more or less.

Mare's likenesses have been described as "stiff" and "hard" and "famous for his careful rendering of details." William Sawitzky said of him that he painted better than some of his contemporaries, "and yet at the same time there is a certain clumsiness in all of his work, a certain amateurishness. Yet the faces are fairly well painted." And it must be said that, however closely he adhered to a set formula in his compositions, his faces have individuality; he painted what he saw, straightforwardly and without flattery. "A hard factualism dominates the period, in pictures as in politics"—a quality which, when translated into portraiture by John Mare, is described by Oliver W. Larkin in his *Art and Life in America* as "sturdy and careful." John Mare's portraits are of real persons—of men prominent in their day (so far no recognized portrait by John Mare of a woman has come to light), but above all, of individuals: a true record of his contemporary colonials.

It is not pretended that the following twelve subjects exhaust the works of John Mare which may be still preserved. But it is hoped that this publication will help to clarify the attributions still uncertain and to bring to light further portraits by this previously obscure master of the 1760's in New York.

The entries are arranged in the order in which the portraits were presumably painted, as indicated by the dates inscribed upon them or by evidences, not always conclusive, cited in the entries.

HENRY LIVINGSTON (1714–1799)

Subject: Henry Livingston, born at Kingston, N.Y., and baptised September 8, 1714, was the second son of Gilbert and Cornelia (Beekman) Livingston. He removed to Poughkeepsie, N.Y. In 1741 or 1742, he married Susanna Conklin. He was a member of the Provincial Assembly 1759-1768, and died February 10, 1799. The portrait of his brother, Robert Gilbert Livingston (1713–1789), is discussed in the entry following.

Date: The portrait is signed and dated at center right "Jn° Mare/Pinx^t/ 1760." Since the artist's son was baptised in Albany on April 15, 1760, it is presumed that the portraits of Henry and his brother Robert Gilbert Livingston were painted during a stopover at Poughkeepsie on his journey back to New York City. However, the Assembly, in which Henry represented Dutchess County, was in session in that year from March 11 to June 10, and from October 21 to November 8, so that conceivably Mare may have painted him during his attendance at New York. This is the earliest dated portrait John Mare is known to have painted.

Description: Canvas, 30 x 25. Waist-length, three-quarters front facing to viewer's right. Powdered wig with side curls, brown eyes; complexion, high-colored. Rich mauve collarless coat, deep cuffs, deep green waistcoat—both ornamented with numerous gold buttons. Left hand thrust into waistcoat and showing flared, ruffled cuff at wrist. Background of dark greenish brown. The reproduction herein shows the painting before restoration as it was before it left the Livingston family *c.* 1875. Fred J. Peters in a letter of April 12,1939, to the father of the present owner, wrote: "I have always regretted that after all the work we did to locate this portrait of Henry Livingston, that its condition was so poor. I remember that I wrote you when we finally delivered the picture to you how much trouble we had in the restoration. The original restorer had done such a poor job and retouched the picture so much that it was difficult to bring it back to its original condition." Luckily the existence of a photograph before any restoration, and showing the dated signature, authenticates the work now highly restored.

Ownership: Mr. Willis L. M. Reese, near Poughkeepsie, N.Y. The portrait descended in the Livingston family to Edward Livingston at Manitou, near Garrison, N.Y., who sold it about 1870 or 1875 (presumably with other Livingston portraits, copies of which were made for and retained by Edward Livingston about that time) to Charles Henry Hart, the collector and writer on early American portraiture. A photograph (reproduced herein) of the Henry Livingston portrait made before Hart acquired it was found among the unsold papers remaining from the Edward Livingston sale by auction at the Rains Galleries in 1935. The subject and the artist were then identified by an old inscription on the back of the photograph, and by the artist's signature and date still legible in the photograph. A broadside issued in 1939 by The House of Peters, Inc., carrying a cropped halftone reproduction of that photograph and an announcement of a desire to acquire the original, brought the following response:

"Dear Peters

"I have *your portrait*!! Came to me from the Chas. H. Hart Collection —Do you want to buy it? If so, wire me today & I'll bring it in tomorrow.

"[*Signed:*] W. A. Gough"

Mr. Peters thereupon acquired the portrait for Mr. William Willis Reese (1868–1942) of Poughkeepsie, the father of the present owner, a former president of the Dutchess County Historical Society, a former trustee of the New-York Historical Society, and a descendant of the subject.

Reproduced: Dutchess County Historical Society *Year Book 1939*, opp. p. 42, described and identified p. 26, 29; broadside issued by The House of Peters, Inc., New York City, 1939. Both reproductions are from the photograph, before restoration, in the Edward Livingston Collection. A photograph after restoration is on file at FARL.

References: Dutchess County Historical Society *Year Book 1939;* broadside, The House of Peters, Inc., New York, 1939; letter, April 11, 1939, to Fred J. Peters from P. L. Thompson, Vice President of American Art Association-Anderson Galleries and auctioneer at the Rains Galleries at the time of the Edward Livingston sale of 1935; letter [1939] from W. A. Gough to Fred J. Peters; letter, April 12, 1939, Fred J. Peters to William Willis Reese; *NYHS Annual Report for the Year 1942*, 18–21; information from the present owner and his family.

Comment: Though the portrait has been rather highly restored, there can be no doubt of its authenticity or of the genuineness of the artist's signature and the inscribed date, which are reproduced herein from the photograph taken before restoration and before the portrait had passed temporarily out of the Livingston Family.

ROBERT GILBERT LIVINGSTON (1713–1789)

Subject: The eldest son of Gilbert and Cornelia (Beekman) Livingston and the brother of Henry Livingston whose portrait is discussed above, was born at Kingston, N.Y., January 11, 1713, and died before September 4, 1789, in New York City. He married Catharine McPhaedres, November 3, 1740.

The identification of the subject was recorded presumably by Mr. William Willis Reese *c.* 1939 on the back of a photograph of the portrait from information obtained from its then owner, Col. J. Mayhew Wainwright, who had the photograph made, and was corroborated by studies made by Mr. Reese as president of the Dutchess County Historical Society. The photograph is reproduced herein by courtesy of its present owner, Mr. Willis L. M. Reese. A conflicting identification of the subject as Gilbert Livingston (1690–1746), the father of Henry and Robert Gilbert Livingston, must be rejected for the following reasons: (1) If of Gilbert, judged by apparent age of sitter, the original would have to have been painted not later than *c.* 1730, at which time no artist was painting in that manner in America, nor was such a costume worn; (2) it bears no resemblance to the portrait of Gilbert (reproduced Dutchess County Historical Society *Year Book 1939*, opp. p. 32 and there attributed to Pieter Vanderlyn); (3) John Wollaston to whom the original of this

portrait is here attributed was still in London in the year Gilbert died. See also *Comment* below.

Date: It is here suggested, for reasons cited in the text of the essay above, that the portrait is a copy by John Mare after an undiscovered original by John Wollaston *c.* 1750–52, which copy was perhaps made in 1760 when Mare signed and dated the portrait of the subject's brother, or later in the 1760's in New York City where the subject was living in Queens Street as early as 1774.

Description: Canvas, 32 x 24. Waist-length, three-quarters front facing to viewer's right. Powdered dark-blond wig with side curls, blue-gray eyes; complexion, moderately high-colored. Dark red collarless coat with matching buttons; white satin waistcoat with matching buttons, into which left hand is thrust showing ruffled cuff at wrist. Background of dark brown foiliage at left and dark blue-green sky with brownish clouds at right. False oval, lower corners. Unsigned. The original frame is like others dating from the 1760's.

Ownership: "This portrait has never been outside of Col. [J. Mayhew] Wainwright's family," the line of descent being as follows: From Robert Gilbert Livingston (1713–1789), the subject, who married Catharine McPhaedres, 1740; (1) to their daughter Catharine Livingston, who married John Reade (1745–1808); (2) to their daughter, Catharine Livingston Reade, who on January 31, 1795, married Nicholas William Stuyvesant (*c.* 1768–1833); (3) to their son Nicholas William Stuyvesant who married Catharine Augusta Chesebrough; (4) to their daughter Margaret Livingston Stuyvesant who married on April 25, 1861, J. Howard Wainwright; (5) to their son, Col. J. Mayhew Wainwright, who married Laura W. Buchanan; and finally (6) to their daughter, Laura Fonrose Wainwright, now Mrs. Philip K. Condict, the great-great-great-great-granddaughter of the subject and the present owner of the portrait. The portrait hangs in the former home of the present owner at Rye, N.Y., which, under the name of "Wainwright House," now houses the Christian Retreat Center of the Laymen's Movement for a Christian World.

References: Florence Van Rensselaer, *The Livingston Family in America* (New York: 1949); Edward Brockholst Livingston, *The Livingstons of Livingston Manor* (New York: 1910); inscription on back of photograph of the portrait made for Col. J. Mayhew Wainwright, Rye, N.Y., in 1936; information from Henry C. Riester, Port Chester, N.Y., the photographer; letter, August 1, 1951, Mrs. Philip K. (Fonrose Wainwright) Condict, to the author; Gottesman, *Arts and Crafts in New York* (NYHS, 1938), 44.

Comment: The marked Wollaston characteristics mentioned in the text of the essay above point to the conclusion that if the family tradition that this portrait "probably was painted by John Mare about 1765" be true (and the author believes it is, except perhaps for the date, here

tentatively assigned to 1760), then it must be a copy by John Mare after an undiscovered John Wollaston, *c.* 1750–52, when Wollaston painted the subject's cousin, Judge Robert R. Livingston (1718–1775) of Clermont, and other Livingstons of the Manor. The landscape treatment in the background is similar to that in Mare's signed and dated copy of Wollaston's portrait of Henry Lloyd I described below.

ROBERT MONCKTON (1726–1782)

Subject: This painting is allegedly a portrait of Robert Monckton, commissioned May 4, 1761, to be Governor of the Province of New York. He assumed office on October 26th and served in person to November 18, 1761 (when he departed in command of the expedition against Martinique), and again from June 14, 1762 to June 28, 1763. There was ample opportunity for John Mare to have painted the portrait from life in the fall of 1761 and the identification of the subject is supported by the marked similarity in facial features between the subject of the portrait and Monckton as depicted in the following contemporary engravings: mezzotint at American Antiquarian Society, reproduced in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History*, V:454; engravings by I. Groyn in Entick, *The General History of the Late War* (London: 1772) ,V:354; and in Wright, *A Compleat History of the Late War* (London: 1765), II:481. Monckton would have been thirty-three years of age at the date inscribed on the portrait—an age well according with the apparent age of the sitter. Beyond these facts, the credibility of the identification of the sitter is closely tied to the question, still open, of whether the signature of the artist is genuine; "this portrait is at present [August 1951] under investigation by us [the National Gallery of Art], and its provenance and attribution have not yet been thoroughly established."

Date: The portrait is signed and dated lower right: "Jn° Mare./Pinx^{t}/ 1761." One recorded authority believes this signature to be a forgery and does not think John Mare painted the portrait. Since its authenticity is under investigation by the National Gallery of Art, the present writer, without prejudicing that investigation, wishes only to call attention to the similarities of style and pose in the reproductions herewith between this portrait and that of Henry Livingston signed and dated: "Jn° Mare. Pinx^{t}/1760."

Description: Canvas, 30½ x 24½. Gray wig, very dark eyes. Blue-black uniform with red and gold trimmings, right hand showing ruffled cuff at wrist thrust into waistcoat; very dark brown background, false ovals in all four corners.

Exhibited: Union League Club, New York City, March 12–13, 1924, No. 22; Century Association Loan exhibition, November 7 29, 1925; Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1928 (Thomas B. Clarke Collection). It was

reproduced as of Robert Monckton by John Mare, 1761, also in the *Canadian Geographical Journal* (Vol. 8, No. 1, at NYPL).

Ownership: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. (Mellon Collection). Formerly in the Thomas B. Clarke Collection. Previous history unknown.

References: Thomas B. Clarke, *Portraits by Early American Artists . . . Exhibited at The Philadelphia Museum of Art* (1928); letter dated August 4, 1951, Macgill James, Assistant Director, National Gallery of Art, to editor, NYHS; *Catalogue, Loan Exhibition, Century Association* (New York: 1925); *Catalogue, Exhibition of Earliest Known Portraits of Americans . . . , Union League Club* (New York: 1924); photo-mount FARL photograph; Hutchins, *Civil List* (1880), 150; NYHS, *Calendar of New York Colonial Commissions,* 34.

Comment: Since the question of identification of subject and attribution to artist is under investigation by the National Gallery of Art, the present author, who knows the portrait only from a photograph, refrains from prejudging the case.

KING GEORGE III

Subject: "At a Common Council held at the City Hall of the said City on Tuesday the 10th day of June Anno: Dom: 1766," it was "ORDERED [that] the mayor Issue his warrant [N° 1825] to the Treasurer of this City to pay John Mare Jun^{r} or order the sum of £24 for the Painting of his present Majesty which he presented to this Corporation."

Date: 1766.

Description: Undoubtedly based upon an engraving of the King. Otherwise unknown.

Ownership: The portrait, now lost, belonged to the City of New York.

References: Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York 1675–1776, VII:20.

Comment: For the circumstances surrounding the painting of this portrait, see the text of the essay above.

SIR HENRY MOORE (1713–1769)

Subject: The portrait alleged to be of Sir Henry Moore, and supported by a pedigree in direct line from that subject, has been called into question as to artist and impliedly as to subject—questions here left open for future investigation. Born in Jamaica, B.W.I., February 7, 1713, Henry Moore was acting governor of that island 1756–1762, was knighted 1764, and arrived in New York as governor, November 13, 1765, a post he held until his death, September 11, 1769. Cadwallader Colden in June

1766 wrote of him: "He openly caressed the Demagogues [*i.e.*, the leaders of the popular party]—Put on a Homespun Coat, the Badge of the Faction [opposed to the Stamp Act] & suffered the Mob to insult the officers of Government without interposing."

Date: The portrait is signed and dated on the lower left of a false oval frame: "Jñ Mare/Pinxt/1766." The FARL photo-mount, under date of October 1948, carries a notation that a specified authority "does not believe in the authenticity of the above signature. He does not think that the portrait is by John Mare."

Description: "Half-length figure to half-left within an oval; wearing gray coat with black waistcoat and tricorn, and gray wig." "Height, 12 inches; width, 10 inches." The plainness of the attire, supposing the identification of the subject to be correct, may be explained by Cadwallader Colden's statement that Moore wore homespun for political reasons.

Ownership: The portrait cannot now be located. The last recorded ownership is of its purchase by an Agnes Peyton of New York, at the 1934 sale of the Hiram Burlingham Collection to which it is said in the catalogue of that sale to have come by the following route: from (1) the subject to (2) Lambert Moore, (3) to his sister, Susanna Moore Smyth (1782); (4) to her son, Andrew Smyth; (5) to his son John Smyth II; (6) to his daughter, Georgianna Maria Smyth Payne; (7) to the Hiram Burlingham Collection.

References: American Portraits . . . Property of the Estate of the Late Hiram Burlingham [Catalogue of Sale, January 11, 1934] (New York: American Art Association-Anderson Galleries, 1934), No. 58, p. 32, repro. p. 33; *NYHS Collections 1877*, 112; FARL photo-mount.

Comment: Since the writer could not locate the painting for study, the question of the genuineness of the signature and of the attribution both as to artist and as to subject must be left open, but this is done without prejudice. It should be pointed out that none of the other known Mare portraits are of this small size, but it is tempting to suggest as a possible explanation of the size that Mare painted the portrait in lieu of paying the Governor's fee for permitting the Prerogative Seal of the Province of New York to be affixed to the will of John Mare, Sr., which was done on December 5, 1766—the year inscribed on the painting.

JOHN KETELTAS (1739–1768)

Subject: Born October 26, 1739, John Keteltas was a brother of Abraham Keteltas and "a member of one of New York's oldest families, the owners of the Keteltas mansion formerly at St. Mark's Place and Second Avenue." He died February 28, 1768.

Date: The portrait is signed and dated at lower right: "Jnº Mare./ Pinxt./1767."

Description: Canvas, 30 x 25. "Blue eyes, gray-brown wig, brown eyebrows, black coat and waistcoat, gold or gilt buttons, white collar & [flared] cuff" on which a house fly has alighted. Right hand thrust into coat does not show. Brown background. Dark spandrels at all four corners.

Ownership: The Misses Maude K. and Edith Wetmore, of New York, descendants of the sitter's family.

References: Life in America, A Special Loan of Paintings held during the Period of the New York World's Fair (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1939), No. 21, p. 14, repro. p. 15; FARL photo-mount; see also text of essay above. For the photographs reproduced thanks go to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

HENRY LLOYD I (1685–1763)

Subject: Born at Boston, November 28, 1685, Henry Lloyd married Rebecca Nelson, daughter of John Nelson of Boston, in 1708, and established his permanent residence on his Manor of Queens Village, Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, in 1711. There he died on March 18, 1763.

Date: The portrait is signed and dated below right center: "Jn°. Mare fecit./1767." It was painted in New York City in the late summer or fall of 1767 after a portrait, now lost, which belonged to Henry Lloyd II, the son of the subject, and which is attributed by means of John Mare's copy to John Wollaston, *c.* 1750–51. (See discussion in text of essay above.)

Description: Canvas, 48½ x 38¼ inches. "Gray eyes, powdered wig. Dark brown suit with brown buttons, white stock and shirt sleeves. Mahogany arm chair upholstered in black. Dark brown wall behind figure. Dark landscape [through opening] at upper right in which are brown trees, green fields and dark blue sky with brownish clouds."

Ownership: Mrs. J. Nelson Borland of New York City, whose husband was a direct descendant of Dr. James Lloyd of Boston, the son of the subject, for whom John Mare painted the portrait. From the original owner, Dr. James Lloyd (1728–1810), the portrait went: (1) to his daughter Sarah (1766–1839) who married Leonard-Vassall Borland in 1785; (2) to their son John Borland, born 1792, who married Rebecca-Nelson Woolsey; (3) to their son John-Nelson Borland, M.D. (1828–1890), who married Madeline Gibson in 1853; (4) to their son John Nelson Borland who married Alice Haven; (5) to his widow, Mrs. J. Nelson Borland, the present owner.

References: Woolsey, *The Lloyd Manor of Queens Village* (Baltimore: [The Order of Colonial Lords of Manors in America], 1925), repro. p. 15; *Papers of the Lloyd Family of . . . Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, New York 1654–1826* (New-York Historical Society, 1927), 2 vols.; FARL photo-mount; information by courtesy of the owner, Mrs. J. Nelson Borland; see also discussion in the text of the essay above.

JOHN TORREY (1734–1808)

Subject: John Torrey, a Boston baker, trader, and merchant, was baptized October 18, 1734, in the First Church, Boston, and his first two children were baptised there. His elder brother William, also a Boston merchant, was a bondsman for him in 1760, when John became guardian of his minor son William, later "one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati." His first wife was Susannah Bowditch (m. January 12, 1758), his second wife, Hannah Bean (m. October 1, 1766). John Torrey died in Boston, February 9, 1808. The identification of the subject is made on the basis of family belief that the portrait represents John Torrey, the great-great-grandfather of the present owner, and because of its very close family resemblance to the portrait of William Torrey, John's brother, discussed in the following entry, and because it descended in direct line from John Torrey's daughter to the subject's great-great-grandson.

Date: The portrait is signed and dated at the lower left: "Jn°. Mare/ Pinxt. 1768." It was presumably painted at Boston, where the artist may have been also when Dr. James Lloyd of Boston commissioned him to paint Henry Lloyd in August of the preceding year, though conceivably the Torrey brothers may have visited New York in 1768.

Description: Canvas, 30 x 25. Waist-length, three-quarters front facing viewer's left; hazel eyes; grayish-brown hair tied in a queue with a black bow; ragged bangs; high complexion; dark-red collarless coat with matching red buttons; brown waistcoat into which right hand is thrust, showing flared ruffled cuff; white stock and frill; greenish-brown background, darker spandrels in all four corners. The portrait, in rather poor condition apparently from too much cleaning, luckily has not been spoiled by inept restoration.

Ownership: Mr. Frederick Holbrook Metcalf of Melrose, Mass., to whom the portrait descended from the subject through (1) his daughter Susannah Torrey, who married Dr. William Pitt Metcalf, (2) their son Dr. John George Metcalf, (3) his son Joseph Lewis Metcalf, the father of the present owner.

References: Frederic C. Torrey, *The Torrey Families and their Children in America* (Lakehurst, N. J.: 1924), I:143–145; information from the present owner and his family.

Comment: Never having been out of the family, the portrait is undoubtedly authentic, and carries John Mare's genuine signature.

WILLIAM TORREY (1729–1768+)

Subject: William Torrey, the brother of the above-recorded John Torrey, was born June 7, 1729, married Abigail Nichols, November 1, 1750, at Boston, and was called "merchant" in a bond he put up for his brother, October 31, 1760. When he died or whether he had children is not known, but presumably he was still living in 1768.

Date: c. 1768, the date inscribed on the canvas of his brother's portrait, probably painted on the same occasion.

Description: The portrait itself has not been located and is known to the writer only by means of a halftone reproduction which has been cropped to show only the head and shoulders, with a portion of an apparently dark background. The face is three-quarters front, facing the viewer's right. Coat, stock and frill are of similar design to John Torrey's and the facial features bear a marked resemblance to his. The reproduction would indicate that the portrait had been badly skinned.

Ownership: Unknown. Portrait not located during this survey of Mare's work.

References: Frederic C. Torrey, *The Torrey Families and their Children in America* (Lakehurst, N. J.: 1924), I:243, repro. p. 144.

Comment: From the reproduction alone, the author tentatively attributes this portrait to John Mare, *c.* 1768, on the basis of its similarity to the portrait of John Torrey.

GERARD G. BEEKMAN (1746–1822)

Subject: The Beekmans had fled from New York to the Van Cortlandt Mansion in Peekskill during the Revolution and on May 23, 1785, Gerard G. Beekman (1746–1822) "was deeded the section of [Philipse] Manor occupied by Castle and mill." "The new owner was the husband [married in 1769] of that amazing personality, Cornelia Van Cortlandt, known as Widow Beekman. She dominated the scene at Philipse Castle from 1785–1850, when she died. During her residence there the Beekman wing was added to the house." (William Rickarby Miller's watercolor of the Philipse-Beekman Mansion and Mill, painted a year or two after Mrs. Beekman's death and given to The New-York Historical Society by Dr. Fenwick Beekman in 1941, is reproduced in *NYHS Quarterly*, October 1947, p. 207.)

Date: c. 1769, the year of his marriage at twenty-three years of age, in New York City. This conforms well with the apparent age of sitter.

Description: Canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Waist-length, three-quarters front facing viewer's right; dark brown natural hair, eyebrows lighter brown, eyes gray-blue, complexion ruddy. Deep blue coat and waistcoat, with brass buttons. White collar and neckcloth, and white, flared, ruffled cuff at wrist of left hand which is thrust out of sight in waistcoat. Background, dark brown. Unsigned.

Ownership: The Historical Society of the Tarrytowns, through the bequest of Mrs. Gertrude Beekman of Tarrytown, N.Y., who died about 1909. The portrait now hangs at Philipse Castle Restoration, North Tarrytown, New York.

References: Aitken, *Distinguished Families in America Descended from Wilhelmus Beekman and Jan Thomasse Van Dyke* (New York: 1912); "Philipse Castle, 1683 to 1944," by Dr. Hugh Grant Rowell, and

"Portraits and Landscapes at Philipse Castle," by William F. Davidson, in *American Collector,* May 1944, 6, 14, repro. pp. 10, 14; FARL photomount.

Comment: First attributed to John Mare by William Sawitzky, March 1943. Formerly attributed to John Wollaston.

GENTLEMAN OF WERDEN-WILCOCKS FAMILY

Subject: The identification of the family of the subject is based upon a report that the portrait came from the Killingworth, Conn., home of a member of that family along with a coat of arms of "the ancient Family of Werden and Wilcocks," said always to have accompanied the portrait. A clue to possible further identification is contained in a land conveyance, dated December 17, 1791, between "William Willcocks, Attorney at Law New York," and Henry G. and Gilbert Livingston—the sons of Robert Gilbert Livingston (1713–1789) of New York, whose portrait John Mare had painted some thirty years earlier. "W^{m} Willcocks" and "Henry G. Livingston" appear as having served together in the New York City Militia on "A List of the Gard for Ap^{l} 28 1775."

Date: 1760's or later.

Description: Canvas 29 x 24½ inches. Three-quarters front, facing viewer's left. Waist-length, dark-red coat with gold or brass buttons, waistcoat oyster white with silver buttons, white collar, flared ruffled cuff showing at right wrist of hand thrust in waistcoat, black tricorn under left arm. Grayish-brown wig, brown eyes, high-colored complexion. Background of greenish-brown with darker false oval in lower corners. Unsigned.

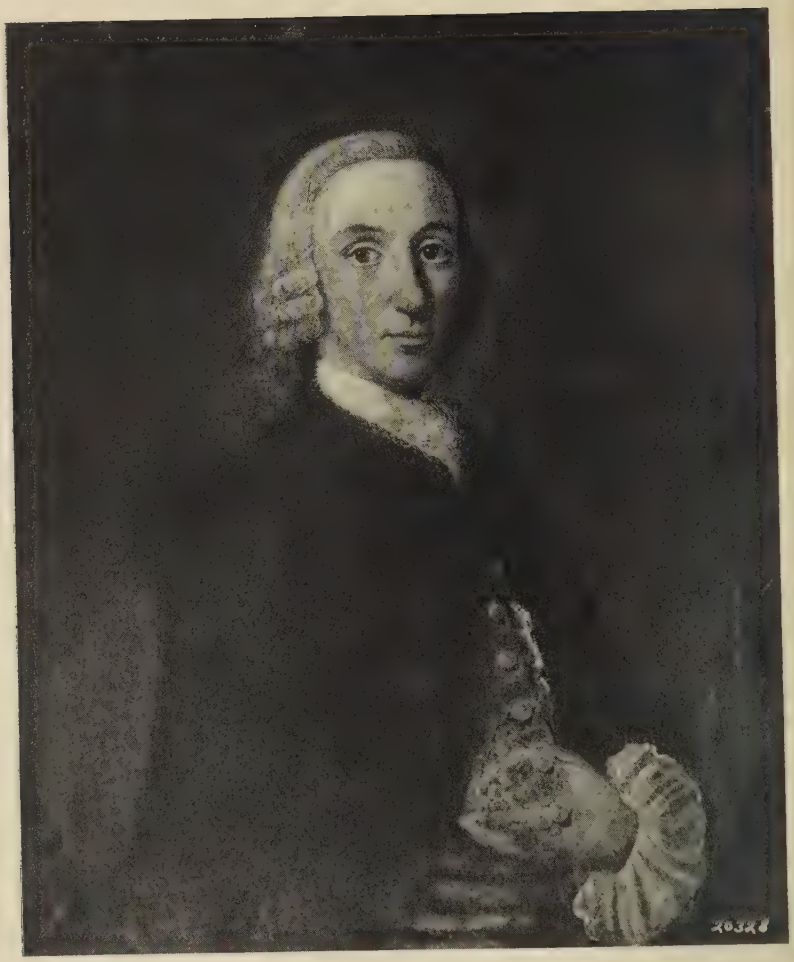
Ownership: Henry N. Flynt, by purchase during summer of 1951 from Ginsburg & Levy, New York City, who acquired it through an intermediary from a member of the Werden-Wilcocks family at Killingworth, Conn.

References: NYHS Collections 1905, 162–3; *ibid. 1915,* 504; Deed, Dec. 17, 1791 (Hall of Records, N.Y.C.); information by courtesy of Ginsburg & Levy, New York City; the Werden-Wilcocks coat of arms accompanying the portrait.

Comment: The portrait was first attributed to John Mare by the late Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr.

DIRCK BRINCKERHOFF (1729–1775)

Subject: "Dirck Brinckerhoff, of the city of New York,. . . merchant," as he called himself, was the son of Joris (also a prosperous New York merchant, born at Flatbush, L. I.) and Elizabeth (Byvank) Brinckerhoff. He was baptised August 17, 1729, in the New York Dutch Church where, on January 10, 1751, he married Catherine Van Wyck. Like his father, he was elected an assessor and assistant alderman of the Dock Ward, and



DIRCK BRINCKERHOFF (1729–1775)
Attributed to John Mare, New York, 1760's

The New Jersey Historical Society
[Photo by FARL]

from September 30, 1765, to September 29, 1768, served as alderman from that ward. He was therefore a member of the Common Council which in 1766 voted £24 to pay John Mare, the artist, for his portrait of George III. He had six children of whom a son and two daughters survived him. He left the city in September 1773, presumably for reasons of health. On the 28th of that month, it was minuted in the Common Council that "Dirk Brinckerhoff, who was Appointed to preside at the . . . Election" of officers for the Dock Ward, "is now out of this City & is not Expected to return. . . ." Finally, a contemporary newspaper announced: "Dirck Brinckerhoff, late alderman and merchant of this city, died at his seat [Stoney Creek, Rombout's Precinct] in Duchess County, September 26, 1775." His will, dated July 2, 1772, was proved November 26, 1775.

Date: 1760's, in New York City.

Description: Canvas, 29 x 24 inches. Waist-length, three-quarters front to viewer's right; wig with small side curls, gray streaked with light brown; blue-gray eyes; dark eyebrows; complexion, pink; red lips; thin oval face with pointed chin. Collarless coat with high cuffs, brown with decorative bronze buttons; waistcoat, peacock blue with decorative design in darker shade and with gold or brass buttons. Left hand, showing white ruffled cuff at a wrist shaped much like Robert Gilbert Livingston's, thrust into waistcoat. Neck-piece similar to John Torrey's. Background, greenish blue with brown spandrels in all corners. Not signed.

Ownership: The New Jersey Historical Society which acquired the portrait in 1922 through the following chain of ownership: from (1) the subject, by bequest, to (2) his only surviving son George (baptised Joris, September 14, 1755) who moved to Mount Hope, N. J., in 1788, where, on January 12, 1793, he married Euphemia Ashfield; to (3) their daughter Euphemia Maria Brinckerhoff (1796–1882) who married, on May 18, 1818, Dr. Stephen Fairchild; to (4) their son Dr. Richard Van Wyck Fairchild (1819–1874); to (5) his second wife, Ruth E. Tichenor, whom he married very late in life, and who, after forty-seven years of widowhood at Parisppany, N. J., gave it to (6) the New Jersey Historical Society.

References: The Family of Joris Dircksen Brinckerhoff (New York: 1887), 84–85; *N. Y. Gen. & Biog. Soc. Coll.: N. Y. Dutch Church Marriages 1639-1801*, 183, 493; *ibid.: Baptisms*, 171, 205, 230, 263, 281; *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York 1675–1776*, V–VII (consult index); *NYHS Coll. 1899*, 304 (obit. from Newspaper); *ibid. 1900*, 260–262 (the will); M. D. Ogden, *Cyclopedia of New Jersey*, IV: 268; FARL photo-mount; information from Mr. Alexander J. Wall, Jr., director of the New Jersey Historical Society.

Comment: Formerly attributed to John Smibert—an attribution not accepted by Dr. Henry Wilder Foote. Now for the first time attributed to John Mare on the basis of style and origin.

THE PERFECT PENDANT

MAJOR ANDRÉ AND COLONEL TRUMBULL

by THEODORE SIZER*

EVERY schoolboy is familiar with the hangings of two celebrated spies; of the sober-minded schoolteacher, Nathan Hale,[1] who gave his "one" life in 1776, and that of the gay and endearing Major John André, Adjutant General of His Majesty's forces in America. The latter took place at Tappan, New York, on October 2, 1780.[2] This sad tragedy is strangely linked with the life of a Connecticut Yankee.[3]

In the midst of the Revolution the highly emotional John Trumbull, aged twenty-one, resigned his commission as a colonel in the Continental Army in high dudgeon.[4] In July 1780 the "patriot-artist," to use a posthumous complimentary title,[5] was comfortably ensconced in London working under the eye of the

* Note: Professor Sizer's *The Works of Colonel John Trumbull, Artist of the American Revolution,* recently published by the Yale University Press, is reviewed in this issue of the *Quarterly*. Trumbull was a member and vice president, from 1818 to 1827, of The New-York Historical Society. He painted portraits of forty-two of its members.

[1] Of South Coventry, Connecticut. Hale graduated from Yale in 1773. John Trumbull of Lebanon, Connecticut, graduated from Harvard the same year.

[2] Described in gruesome detail by Winthrop Sargent, *The Life and Career of Major John André* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1861), of which only seventy-five copies were printed.

[3] André and Trumbull could never have met. One can readily account for the former's tour of duty from his landing at Philadelphia on September 4, 1774, to capture, trial, and hanging. Trumbull sets forth in his *Autobiography* and in letters his exact whereabouts for that period. None the less, several drawings and a miniature of André presumably done by Trumbull from life exist. One of the drawings, a charming little sketch in hard pencil, now at Fordham University, once labelled "Major John André" is, I believe, a study of one of the younger sons of General Hugh Mercer (see Theodore Sizer, "Trumbull's 'The Battle of Princeton,'" *The Princeton University Library Chronicle,* XII (1950), 1–5 and 39–40). There is also an historic scene of the "Trial of Major André," purporting to have been painted by Trumbull. All of the attributions, with the exception of the study of General Mercer, are, in my opinion, erroneous.

[4] All of this is set down, defensively, in Trumbull's *Autobiography* (New York and New Haven: 1841).

[5] Often employed: given to him by Professor Benjamin Silliman of Yale, at the suggestion of his son, another Professor Benjamin Silliman. Modern psychiatrists would probably regard Trumbull's personality as "split"—like the complimentary title.

SELF-PORTRAIT OF MAJOR JOHN ANDRÉ
Done the morning of his execution, October 2, 1780, Tappan, N.Y.
Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery

benign Philadelphian, Benjamin West. He records in his *Autobiography* that "on the 15th of November, 1780, news arrived in London of the treason of Gen. Arnold, and the death of Major André. The loyalists, who had carefully watched my conduct from the day of my arrival, now thought themselves certain of putting an end to my unintelligible security and protection. Mr. André had been the deputy adjutant general of the British army, and I a deputy adjutant general in the American, and it seemed to them that I should make a perfect *pendant*." [6] The ex-rebel officer was forthwith imprisoned, for a year and a half, liberated in June 1781, and promptly deported. Benjamin Silliman, the celebrated scientist, Trumbull's future nephew-in-law wrote, years after: "While Col. Trumbull was prisoner in London on a charge of high treason Mr. Burke who, with other

[6] Pages 68–69, the italics are Trumbull's.

eminent men took a warm interest in his welfare visited him and advised him strongly to make himself well acquainted with architecture, as there would evidently be a great demand in America for that kind of knowledge. The advice was not neglected and great attention was paid by him to that very important & beautiful art . . ." [7] Architectural design was one of the versatile Trumbull's lifelong concerns.[8]

André had been buried close to the scene of his execution. Forty-one years later "the Duke of York, Commander of the Forces . . . decided to remove André's corpse to England. The Rev. Mr. Demarat who now owned the ground, gave ready assent to the (British) consul's proposal," we learn from Winthrop Sargent.[9] That romantic author tells us that the work of exhumation took place on August 10, 1821, at eleven A.M. *The Annual Register*[10] describes the procedure as follows:

MAJOR ANDRÉ—The following account of the disinterment of the remains of Major André is taken from a New York paper of 14th August:—

This event took place at Tappan, on Friday the 10th inst. The British consul, with several gentlemen, accompanied by the proprietor of the ground and his labourer, commenced their operations at eleven o'clock, by removing the heap of loose stones that surrounded and partly covered the grave. Great caution was observed in taking up a small peach-tree that was growing out of the grave, as the consul stated his intention of sending it to His Majesty to be placed in one of the royal gardens. Considerable anxiety was felt, lest the coffin should not be found, as various rumours existed of its having been removed many years ago. However, when at the depth of three feet, the labourers came to it. The lid being broken, the centre had partly fallen in, and was kept up by resting on the skull. The lid being raised, the skeleton of the brave André appeared entire, with some small locks of hair. A leather thong was all that remained of his dress. As soon as the curiosity of the spectators was gratified, a large circle was formed, when the undertaker, with his assistant, uncovered the sarcophagus, into which the remains were carefully removed. This superb depository, in imitation of those used in Europe for the remains of the illustrious dead, was made of mahogany; the panels were covered with rich velvet, surrounded by a gold border-

[7] Quoted from Professor Silliman's Note Book, dated 1858, existing only in Ms. and four typewritten copies, Garvan Collection, Yale University Art Gallery.

[8] See Theodore Sizer, "John Trumbull, Amateur Architect," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, VIII (1949), 1–6.

[9] *Op. cit.*, 408 409. Mr. Buchanan was the British Consul at New York.

[10] *Annual Register of the Year 1821* (London: 1822), 133.

ing: the rings were of deep burnished gold, and the inside was lined with black velvet: the whole was supported by four gilt balls.

The sarcophagus with the remains have been removed on board his Majesty's packet, where it is understood, as soon as some repairs on board are completed, an opportunity will be afforded of viewing it.

A week later John Pintard wrote his daughter from New York:

Sat[y] [August] 18[th]. Yesterday at noon I rec[d] an invitation from M[r] Buchanan to accompany him at 1 o'clock on b[d] the British packet to see the sarcophagus containing the remains of the unfortunate André, of w[h] circumstance I made the following memo, on the back of the Consuls note, as soon as I returned[:]

Aug[t] 17. Attended Ja[mes] Buchannan Esq. British Consul, on b[d] the B. packet a[t] 1 o'clock, with several gentlemen, except M[r] Wood of Apprentices Library memory, to me unkown. The Rev[d] M[r] Demarest of Tappan, to whose ca[re] the remains of Major André were intrusted, was of the party. [The sarcophagus] in the shape of a Ladies work case about 2 feet high & 1½ wide [*MS. torn*] designe[d by] Col. Trumbull [& executed by] M[r] Eggle [so] . . .[11]

Pintard, a keen observer, must have known all about the authorship of the design for the little mahogany casket, the "superb depository, in imitation of those used in Europe for the remains of the illustrious dead." He and the "patriot-artist" had long been friends and associates. They had both been fellow officers of the American Academy of Fine Arts. Pintard, the founder (in 1804) of The New-York Historical Society, had been painted by the colonel in 1817 for the Society.[12]

Sargent gives the name of the British frigate as the *Phaeton*[13] and tells of the reburial in Westminster Abbey:

In the south aisle of the Abbey wherein sleeps so much of the greatness and the glory of England stands André's monument. It is of statuary marble carved by (P. M.) Van Gelder. It presents a sarcophagus on a moulded panelled base and plinth; the panel of which is thus inscribed: "Sacred to the memory of Major John André, who, raised of his merits, at an early period of life, to the rank of Adjutant-General of the British

[11] *Letters from John Pintard to His Daughter, 1816–1833*, 4 vols. (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1940), II, 75.

[12] The portrait is hanging in the Society. See *Catalogue of American Portraits* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1941), No. 591; and Theodore Sizer, *The Works of Colonel John Trumbull, Artist of the American Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 45.

[13] *Op. cit.*, 410.

forces in America, and, employed in an important but hazardous enterprise, fell a sacrifice to his zeal for his King and Country, on the 2nd of October, 1780, aged twenty-nine, universally beloved and esteemed by the army in which he served, and lamented even by his foes. His gracious Soverign, King George III, has caused this monument to be erected."

On the plinth these words are added: "The remains of Major John André were, on the 10th of August, 1821, removed from Tappan by James Buchannan, Esq., his Majesty's consul at New York, under instructions from his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and with permission of the Dean and Chapter, finally deposited in a grave contiguous to this monument, on the 28th of November, 1821."[14]

Presumably the little casket designed by Colonel Trumbull was sealed in the Abbey wall.

These two combatants in our War of Independence were alike in another respect. Both could draw prettily. On the morning of his execution André made a charming pen-and-ink self-portrait.[15] Even a posthumous parallel can be made. There was, to use 18th-century phraseology, a "translation of the relics" in both cases: André's remains were removed from Tappan to the Abbey and Trumbull's from beneath the "Trumbull Gallery" at Yale to "Street Hall" (in 1868) and then again (under the author's supervision) to the "Yale University Art Gallery" (in 1928).[16] These latter translations were made that the "patriot-artist's" wish that he lie forever at the feet of his master—below his great portrait of General Washington, for whom he had been aide-de-camp—be fulfilled. It was Washington, it should be recalled, who personnally reviewed André's court-martial and confirmed the sentence.[17] What a curious set of relations existed between André and Trumbull, between these two men who never met! They were as Trumbull said, *perfect pendants.*

[14] *Op. cit.*, 411.

[15] See *Yale University Portrait Index, 1701–1951* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), 4.; also referred to in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (London and New York: 1885), I, 398.

[16] See Theodore Sizer, "The Reinterments of Colonel Trumbull," Walpole Society *Note Book* for 1948 (Privately Printed, 1949), 30–37.

[17] The (British) *Dictionary of National Biography* (in the article by Richard Garnett, LL.D.), 1885, already cited, states (vol. I, p. 397): "Washington has been unreasonably censured for not having granted him a more honourable death. . . . Washington and André, indeed, deserve equal honour: André for having accepted a terrible risk for his country and borne the consequences of failure with unshrinking courage; and Washington for having performed his duty to his own country at a great sacrifice of his feelings. . . ."

IN FLOCKS, LIKE ILL-BODING RAVENS

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE TRAGIC END OF SIR DANVERS OSBORNE, BART.

by Wayne Andrews, *Curator of Manuscripts*

NO MATTER how deeply we may admire the evidence of a trained hand, not every interesting painting may be assigned to a professional, nor may every provocative letter be attributed to a man of letters. The merchants Robert and Richard Ray, who dealt in flour, ginseng, and beaver skins in the New York of 200 years ago, toiled too close to their ledgers to dream of polishing their prose, yet they were certainly experts in the art of telling out-of-town customers the latest news, if a letter of theirs addressed to Robert Sanders of Albany, dated October 13, 1753, may pass for a sample of their commercial correspondence. The gift of Dr. Fenwick Beekman, this document describes in detail the tragic end of one of the lesser-known governors of the Province, Sir Danvers Osborne, Bart., of Chicksands Priory, Bedfordshire.

Revered in his own time as the brother-in-law of the Earl of Halifax, Sir Danvers is best remembered in ours as the kinsman of that Dorothy Osborne of Chicksands whose letters to her future husband Sir William Temple were treasured by Macaulay himself. "All letters, methinks," Dorothy Osborne once told her fiancé, "should be free and easy as one's discourse; not studied as an oration, nor made up of hard words like a charm."

She might have approved of the style of Robert and Richard Ray. "We must now acquaint you," they informed Sanders after noting the state of the ginseng market, "of the most odd shocking and most meloncolly affair that perhaps Ever happened in this province it is as follows: on sunday afternoon last being the 7 Instant between the hours of two & three O'clock in the afternoon arrived here from sandy hook in the man of wars barge and landed at white Hall Sir Danvers Osbourne Bare[t] the

then Governour of this province where he was Rec[d] by the Gen[m] of his majesties Council the Corporation & many of the principal Gen[m] of this place who all Expres'd all possible Demonstrations of joy from which place they Conducted him in great honour & gladness to his majesties fort George: the next Day being munday our new Gov[r] was observed in the mourning to walk all over the town with several gen[m] with him about 10 O'clock our old tho then yet governour Clinton came to town from long Island where he has been all summer at his arrival the governours Greeted Each other kindly munday the Council had prepared an Elagant Entertainment for the new governour Att a tavern where the old gover. Clinton was also asked but Refused to go: munday afternoon the new Gover. was also observed to walk about the town which he admired for being larger and fuller of stately houses than he expected to find on tuesday there was nothing done till the afternoon when word was given that the newe gov[rs] Commission was to be Read in form the next day being Wednesday the 10 Instant so that preparation where then ordered to be made: an Elagant Entertainment was ordered for him by the Corporation so on wednesday morning the two governours being in the fort where the Council were ordered to Appear when his Commiss[n] was Read in the fort then he proceeded from thence to the City Hall where it was again Read in his way to which place as well as in his Return he was Attended by the Council Corporation all the officers of the Militia and all the gent[m] of the place as well as by all Ranks of people that never was there so great A Concourse of people seen before never such loud Acclamations nor never did a people Express so much joy on the Like or any other occasion—in the Afternoon he din'd with the Corporation as before Recited but he Complained about 4 O clock that he was not very well and so went to his lodgings at Mr. Jos. Murray's he was not able he said to go to the Common to see the Albany & our Bonfire where was many Cannon Loaded to fire however the Council & other Gentlemen went which answered much the same & this was the end of wednesday Thurs-

day passed off without anything Remarkable:—but now to our mighty and great surprise on fryday about Eight Oclock in the morning this Gentleman Sir Danvers Osbourn our governour was found in Mr. Joseph Murray's Garden where he had hanged himself with his own handkerchief and is Dead he was bledby the Doctors but all in vain what Reason Can be Assigned for this we Cannot tell but beleive he must have been Disordered in his senses before he Came from England however Can't tell what to Ascribe this strange & Unaccountable Accident to:—James De Lancey Esq. was Declared immediately thereupon Leut. Governour in his Room by virtue of a Commission Deliver'd him by Gov^{r} Clinton the morning that Gov^{r} Osbourn Commission was Read: so that in less than 48 hours we have had three Governours."

Robert and Richard Ray here changed the subject and turned to business matters; they did not attempt to imagine the desolation of Sir Danvers' mother at Chicksands, nor the shock to Sir Danvers' two orphaned children. Nor did they think of the grief of Admiral Byng, Sir Danvers' uncle.

Less than four years later, Chicksands Priory was once again made wretched, this time by the news of Admiral Byng. Court-martialed for failing to attack the French fleet off Minorca with the proper enthusiasm, he was sentenced to be shot, and not even the protests of Voltaire succeeded in staying his execution.

"How true it is," Dorothy Osborne might have observed on this as she did on another occasion, "that a misfortune never comes single; we live in expectation of some one happiness that we propose to ourselves, an age almost, and perhaps miss it at the last; but sad accidents have wings to overtake us, and come in flocks like ill-boding ravens."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Works of Colonel John Trumbull, Artist of the American Revolution. By Theodore Sizer, Professor of the History of Art in Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950. xviii + 117 pages, including biblio., 46 halftone plates. $5.00.)

Professor Sizer, in a slender volume listing nearly a thousand genuine works of Colonel John Trumbull (1756–1843), has compiled a model checklist of extant and lost works by the "Patriot Artist." The entries are as full as any publisher is likely to print, but are not as exhaustive as a catalogue raissoné. But checklists on which those in the volume are based were published earlier in periodical form. Hence the materials in the present volume were subjected to the scrutiny of fellow students before the book itself was published. The bibliography is in itself a contribution of importance. Finally, Professor Sizer has the courage and wisdom to give attention to forgeries of Trumbull's work.

There are 46 halftone cuts of Trumbull's work as well as numerous decorative line-engravings. The Yale University Press is to be congratulated on a first-rate job of printing and of book-making.

It is disappointing to discover that Professor Sizer has not given himself credit for the thoroughness and vastness of his labors, by indicating (perhaps with an asterisk) in the checklist, the works which he has seen. It is hoped that he will yet give us a full-length biography of Colonel Trumbull. We need one badly because the aged artist who wrote his *Memoirs* was less well equipped for the task than is Professor Sizer.

In any case, this careful study, by an objective and mature scholar, is certain to remain for many years the authoritative reference book on Trumbull's work. The artist is worthy of this prodigious labor because it is through his work, more than that of any other artist, that we can look upon the faces of the leaders who broke the ties with imperial Britain and established the federal government under which we live.

Washington, D. C. George C. Groce

Journals and Journeymen. A Contribution to the History of Early American Newspapers. By Clarence S. Brigham. Rosenbach Fellowship in Bibliography. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950. xiv + 114 pages, illus. $2.50.)

In this slender volume, Clarence S. Brigham has brought together his *obiter dicta* on the early newspaper press in America: side-notes and observations made during the years when he labored singlehanded to produce the *Bibliography* which has placed all users of American news-

papers of the Colonial, Revolutionary, and early national periods immensely in his debt. It embodies lectures delivered at the University of Pennsylvania. Informal, discursive, suggestive rather than exhaustive, these lectures were evidently delivered in a mood of relaxation after exacting technical labors. It would be ungracious to express disappointment that he set so modest a goal, except for glimpses here offered of an erudition in this special field which no other student can hope to match.

On each of some fifteen topics he has provided just enough interesting information to whet our appetite for more—which is perhaps what he intended, and what will serve us well if students will turn his hints to good purpose. After an Introduction which compresses into a few pages some of his experiences in making the *Bibliography*, comes a note on the "History of Early Newspapers"—actually a sketch of early attempts to prepare lists or general histories of American newspapers. Only Isaiah Thomas's *History* is well known. Brigham points out the importance of the lists compiled by Hezekiah Niles and Daniel Hewett. A later note contains two letters from William Goddard to Thomas, of 1811, with his "additions" to the *History*. A concluding section deals briefly with "Early Collections of Newspapers," chiefly those of Noah Webster, Isaiah Thomas, and the German historian of America, Christoph Daniel Ebeling.

These are brief contributions to newspaper bibliography and historiography. For the rest, the notes deal chiefly with newspaper practices and conventions ("Titles of Newspapers," "Newspaper *vs.* Magazine," "Advertisements," "Illustration," "Marriage and Death Records," "Carriers' Addresses") or with aspects of the newspaper business ("Circulation," "Subscription Worries," "Women Newspaper Publishers"). In "The Time-Lag in News" is pointedly demonstrated, with reference to the event at Philadelphia of July 4, 1776, the greatest limitation on the development of the Colonial newspaper as a *news*paper. Occasional hints or illustrations appear of the close evolutionary relationship between the English and American newspaper press which might have been profitably developed. To illustrate: it is evident that every newspaper title employed in the English-language press in the Colonies in 1776 was derived from English newspapers and still reflected in some degree English newspaper functions, as in *Gazette* and *Advertiser* (pp. 12, 58–59). In titles as in many other practices, Americanization came after independence. The cuts of newspaper headings (p. 39) strikingly exhibit one form, the typographical, of derivation. Both of the *Boston Gazette* devices were crudely copied from the *Post-man* (London). These are visible signs of a process of imitation—and adaptation—from English models which is the most striking feature of early American journalism in its setting of cultural history.

University of Michigan VERNER W. CRANE

Preble's Boys, Commodore Preble and the Birth of American Sea Power. By Fletcher Pratt. (New York: William Sloan Associates, 1950. x + 419 pages, including indexes, 14 battle diagrams. $5.00.)

For those of us who like sea tales and stories of our country's early naval engagements, *Preble's Boys* will have great appeal. For here we have, in a skillfully written volume, the story of the early development of our Navy. Fletcher Pratt tells his story in a series of chapter-long biographies of Commodore Edward Preble and his subordinate officers—Stephen Decatur, James Lawrence, James Biddle, Thomas MacDonough, and Isaac Hull, to name a few—who later became distinguished naval leaders in their own right. It is revealing to discover among these pages how very many there were of "Preble's Boys" and the great influence they had in the molding of American naval traditions and the successes they achieved, specifically in the War of 1812; and here the author puts to rout the idea that America did not gain a clear-cut victory in that war.

Naturally, in his biographical sketches, the author covers the same historical period many times, yet he does it with such skill that the reader does not become bored with repetitious details. It is significant to note that he treats all 16 of his subjects sympathetically—even giving Captain William Bainbridge a clean bill in the matter of his often-criticized surrender of the *Philadelphia* after only token resistance when she was grounded in the harbor of Tripoli in 1803. Regarding the glorious aftermath of this misfortune, the author presents evidence of Commodore Preble's high regard for the quality of leadership displayed in Stephen Decatur's remarkable exploit in firing the *Philadelphia* in Tripoli harbor after its capture by the Tripolitans. Edward Preble's own account of this exploit, written the day Decatur rejoined the fleet at Syracuse and praising Decatur and his men for their bravery, has been discovered in the large collection of Livingston papers on deposit at The New-York Historical Society. It is printed here because it is a firsthand account of an outstanding event in our naval history and deals with an event narrated in the book.

(Duplicate)

U. S. Frigate Constitution
Syracuse Harbor Feb^{y} 16th [*sic for* 19th] 1804

Sir,

I have the pleasure to announce to you intelligence of the Capture and destruction of the Tripoline Frigate of 40 Guns late the United States Frigate Philadelphia by the U. S. Ketch Intrepid of 4 Guns and 70 men commanded by Lieu^{t} Decatur of the Enterprise who volunteered his services on the Occasion. It is to be regretted that she was so situated that it was impossible to have brought her out.

On the 3d Ins^{t} the Brig Syren Lieu^{t} Stewart and Ketch Intrepid of 4

Guns commanded by Lieu[t] Decatur with 70 volunteers from the Squadron, and fitted for the purpose, sailed for Tripoly with Orders to burn the Frigate in that Harbor; They this day returned having executed my Orders much to my satisfaction.

On the 16[th] Ins[t] L[t] Decatur entered the Harbor of Tripoly with the Ketch, laid her alongside the frigate, and in a gallant and Officer like manner boarded and carried her against all opposition. After Gaining complete possession he proceeded to fire her with success, and left her in a blaze in which she continued untill she was totally consumed. He had none killed and only one wounded. The Tripolitans lost about 20 Men killed and we took one Prisoner. A boat load made their escape: Some ran below and perished in the flames, and some jumped overboard. She was moored close under the Batteries with a strong guard on board and all her guns loaded; two of their Corsairs full of men lay within half musket shot of her. A fire was kept up on the Ketch by the Batteries, Bashaws Castle and Corsairs. Not a musket or Pistol was fired by our men: Every thing was settled by the sword.

The Syren Anchored without the Harbor to cover the retreat of the Ketch, and sent her boats to assist; but unfortunately they did not arrive in season as the business was accomplished and the Ketch on her way out before the boats met her. Had they got in sooner it is probable some of the Tripolitan Corsairs would have shared the fate of the Frigate.

The Officers and Seamen concerned in the execution of this enterprise deserve the highest ecomiums for their conduct.

I have the honor to be
with the highest consideration and respect, Sir,
Y[r] Most Ob[t] Ser[t]
EDWARD PREBLE

His Excellency Robert R. Livingston
Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States
of America to the French Republic

The author of *Preble's Boys* could not have seen the above-quoted document since it came to light after his book went to press. Unfortunately, one is too often at a loss to judge the authority of his remarks, for Mr. Pratt is opposed, as his preface states, to introducing footnotes and bibliography into a work of this kind. However, the author shows real command of his subject, leaving little doubt but that he worked deeply in source materials.

Preble's Boys should not be considered a reference work, though it can hardly miss a place on the historical shelves of any library. It is, instead, an engaging series of fast-moving, action-packed chapters and, impressively enough, they are all true.

New Jersey Historical Society ALEXANDER J. WALL, JR.

Early American Methodism, 1769–1844. Volume One: Missionary Motivation and Expansion. By Wade Crawford Barclay. [History of Methodist Missions, Part I.] (New York: Board of Missions and Church Extension of The Methodist Church, 1949. xli + 449 pages, including biblio. notes and index. $3.50.)

Dr. Barclay's work marks the first of a six-volume series, "History of Methodist Missions," which will chronicle the drive for world evangelization to 1939. When authorized by the Board of Missions in 1945 to undertake this prodigious task, Dr. Barclay had already served Methodism for more than fifty years as pastor, educator, missionary, executive, editor and author.

The author's thesis is that the Methodist movement has been the embodiment of John Wesley's "mind and spirit." Early American Methodism was "missionary in conception, in motivation, and in method," and its development was "a natural and almost inevitable outgrowth of its fundamental doctrine of universal redemption." The evidence amassed convincingly supports such a judgment.

This first volume carries the story from the arrival of the first missionaries on America's shores in the 1760's to the sectional schism of 1844–1845, when American Methodism had splintered into six denominations. Meanwhile, that church had grown from an insignificant religious faction to the largest Protestant organization in America. Its rotating itineracy was uniquely adapted to meet the spiritual needs of a people on the move. The tightly centralized church organization, however, was less compatible with the democratic tendencies of the 1800's.

The role of New York and Maryland as germinal centers of American Methodism is underscored by the author. Two volunteer workers, Philip Embury, an Irish Methodist, and Captain Thomas Webb, a British army officer, collaborated in 1768 to found the Wesley Chapel on John Street in New York City. Thomas Taylor, a layman trustee of the projected chapel, fervently appealed to the founder of Methodism for preachers for the American Colonies. He promised that the group "would sell our coats and shirts" to pay for the passage if necessary. Responding to this and other letters in 1769 John Wesley sent his first official missionaries to America, Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor. They confined their activities to the New York and Philadelphia areas, while Francis Asbury, who arrived in the Province of New York a few years later, established rural circuits with a regular schedule of preaching appointments.

Bishop Thomas Coke had a somewhat unhappy career in America during his six visits here after the Revolutionary War. Asbury's slighting of Coke mirrors not only a personality conflict but also the nationalistic flavor of the Wesleyan movement in the new Republic. Although

thwarted in his leadership efforts, Coke selflessly devoted his energies and most of his fortune to the cause of uplifting Indians, Negroes, and sailors in America, and to the founding of missions in Nova Scotia, the West Indies, the Channel Islands, Africa, Ceylon, Java, and India.

Much of this missionary story is hewn from the original sources, predominantly of Methodist origin. Dr. Barclay's understandably sympathetic approach has enabled him to recreate the excitement and religious zeal accompanying the activities of Bishop Francis Asbury, "the outrider," and his followers in the early days of Methodist promise. The vast body of anti-Methodist literature in America and England was apparently not consulted, although the author's painstaking efforts set a high standard for historical accuracy. A double-entry system of footnoting (footnotes at the bottom of the page as well as another series in the back of the book) increases the reader's labors rather unnecessarily.

The story is chronicled in the perspective of our national growth—a great improvement over earlier sectarian histories. The topical approach, while giving unity to a particular theme, necessitates retracing one's steps when a new topic is begun. The plethora of detail concerning local developments could interest only students of church history. Synthesis and generalization are seldom undertaken. As a result, the over-all significance of a particular development is often lost sight of. The volume is of greatest value as a reference work. When the series is completed a mine of historical materials on American Christianity will then be available.

University of Maryland CHARLES A. JOHNSON

The Yankee Exodus: An Account of Migration from New England. By STEWART H. HOLBROOK. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950. viii + 398 pages, maps, biblio., illus., index. $5.00.)

Our English Heritage. By GERALD W. JOHNSON. [The Peoples of America Series.] (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1949. 253 pages, index. $3.50.)

There can be no questioning the fact that of all the original strip of Atlantic Coast settlements of our forefathers, New England made by far the greatest contribution to the building of all America west of there, even to the Pacific Coast—contributions not only in population, but in invention, industry, transportation, education, religion—yes, and in cultism; for the pioneers of Mormonism, the Oneida Community, the Grangers, the vegetarians, the Abolitionists, and various communistic settlements were New England-born; even Mrs. Luther Tebbetts, who founded—nay, she *was*—the first cult in that cultists' heaven, California. The stony soil of New England farms seemed to breed in the young men who grew up on it peculiar qualifications to wrestle victoriously with the

problems of a rapidly Westering frontier and an industrialism growing like Jack's beanstalk; and yet men born in New England's cities and villages seemed equally dauntless and efficient.

Mr. Holbrook, himself New England-born, does not overpraise his fellow-Yankees in his sprightly book, but cites facts from the record, including some demerits. Probably nowhere was so sound a reason for the westward urge as those stony hillsides which he remembers. Yankees were on the move, even in the 18th century, into New York and Pennsylvania and beyond. Ohio was almost created by them. Manasseh Cutler, Rufus Putnam and associates organized the Ohio Company, and Gen. Moses Cleaveland the land company which promoted the Western Reserve, long known as New Connecticut. Then, with the opening of the Erie Canal, so many of them went to Michigan as to give certain areas of that State a Yankee cast which is noticeable yet. The building of railroads and the discovery of precious metals unloosed other floods of them which flowed to the Pacific strand, while the Doles of Maine, crossing the sea to Hawaii as missionaries, practically took over the islands, politically and industrially.

Among the larger cities, Yankees founded Portland, Oregon, and helped to found Minneapolis. Their family names became the names of hundreds of cities, towns, and counties—Scranton, Cleveland, and Boise are three that come to mind immediately. And it was not always entirely for material reasons that they moved westward. They arose in a modern crusade and went to Kansas by thousands in the 1850's, theoretically with a gun in one hand a Bible in the other, to save that unborn State from slavery—though hoping to find good prairie homes there, too; and they fought, physically fought, and died, some of them, to keep it free. Complaint has been made that they gave Kansas a Puritanical bias, as evidenced in its prohibition law, which it has not yet shaken off.

Everywhere they founded schools and colleges. Their intellectuals, with Horace Mann, James B. Angell, and Benjamin Ide Wheeler as among the most noted names, have played a major part in giving the rest of the country its education and influencing its thought. In fact, De Tocqueville, in his enthusiasm, declared that the social theories of the entire United States came from New England. They sent forth sturdy women reformers, too—Lucy Stone, one of the earliest fighters for the vote, who retained her maiden name after marriage; Dorothea Dix, who raged through the land, exposing the brutality of our prisons, insane asylums, and almshouses; Helen Hunt Jackson, who performed a similar service for our mistreated Indian wards; and Harriet Beecher Stowe, who wrote the book that did more than anything else to eliminate slavery.

Yankee ingenuity gave America (among other things) the sewing machine, the fireproof safe, the platform scale, the paper dress pattern, the steam calliope, and workable India rubber. It gave the Western plains

their barbed-wire fence, and California its seedless orange. When Westerners drew a pistol, it was apt to be made either by Colt or by Smith & Wesson, or if a rifle, by Remington or Winchester—all Yankees. The California gold camps and Wells-Fargo couldn't have functioned without the stagecoaches made in Concord, New Hampshire. Yankees were the greatest of railroad-builders, too. Here Mr. Holbrook is guilty of an oversight. He mentions two or three of them, but he omits: the Ameses, Durant and Dodge, who created the Union Pacific; Thomas Nickerson, who built the Atlantic & Pacific and the Mexican Central; Collis P. Huntington, chief builder of the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific; Henry B. Plant, who assembled a great Southern rail network, headed the Southern Express Company, and gave Florida the greatest boost in its history; E. P. Ripley and A. A. Robinson of the Santa Fe; Daniel Willard of the B. & O.; M. E. Ingalls of the Big Four; and literally dozens of others who were noted rail-builders and executives. State Street in Boston used to furnish far more money for these big promotions than Wall Street. For years the general offices of the Burlington, Santa Fe, Union Pacific, and Mexican Central were in Boston.

Otherwise, this book is a compendious, interesting, and splendid document which will rather astonish those still unaware of the part that New England has played in the making of the Nation.

Mr. Johnson's *Our English Heritage* is a good companion piece for the book just reviewed, and should stand beside it on the library shelf. This is one of a series on The Peoples of America, which deals with the various nationalities who compose our present-day population. Previous volumes have been written about citizens from Holland, Hungary, Japan, and Mexico, and finally we get around to hearing of the Anglo-Saxons, who really founded the nation. Mr. Johnson himself throws light on this process by remarking that the English have so dominated the historical scene "that everyone takes them for granted and proceeds to study other people. This has gone so far that some of us seem to forget that the English had any hand in the job at all." The author reassures those of English stock who have been worried over the gossip that all the first immigrants were the emptyings of prisons and poorhouses. He says that this wave, unable to cope with the wilderness, died off and was replaced by the clean, sturdy poor and middle class, with a sprinkling of gentlemen who took over the top jobs in politics and most of the land. An absorbing chapter is that devoted to the growth of the amazingly rich American language, with its million or more words, which has made the old "King's English" a "subsidiary dialect." He traces the English origins and influences in the faith, philosophy, arts, and sciences of America, and in the end makes a distinct and necessary contribution to the history and understanding of our country as it is.

New York City ALVIN F. HARLOW

The Mavericks: American Engravers. By Stephen DeWitt Stephens. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1950. xx + 219 pages, ports., illus., index. $7.50.)

Of Washington and Lincoln hundreds of books have been written, and of many of these it is no doubt true that they contain no hitherto unpublished fact. By contrast, Mr. Stephens's book on the Maverick family of engravers is the only one on this subject that has thus far been published. No one accordingly will complain that it is merely derivative and contains nothing new. Before its publication "the longest biography of Peter Maverick in print, and the only one of any value" was "the half-page sketch by Mr. Frank Weitenkampf in the *Dictionary of American Biography*."

Following a long period of research, Mr. Stephens has presented in a straightforward and interesting manner the most important facts concerning Peter Rushton Maverick (1755–1811), the first of that name to carry on an engraving business in New York City; his son Peter (1780–1831), the best and most prolific artist of the family; and their descendants and associates.

The elder Maverick had been trained as a silversmith, a craft which naturally led to the engraving of copperplates for reproduction on paper, and had a shop at 3 Crown Street (now Liberty Street), Manhattan, as early as 1784. Peter was trained in the Crown Street shop, and at an early age became a more proficient artist than his father. Peter learned as a child to make wood engravings. He soon took up engraving on copper and steel; most of his mature work was in the field of line and stipple engraving on metal. In the 1820's he became interested in lithography and produced work in that medium during the last years of his life. He made portraits and other illustrations including many for books and magazines; he also engraved certificates, bank notes, maps, bookplates and coats of arms. For a time he was associated professionally with Asher B. Durand. Peter Maverick's brothers Andrew and Samuel, his son Peter Maverick, Jr., and a number of other descendants were engravers and lithographers; and the Maverick & Wissinger Company, lithographers, are active in New York City today.

Part I of Mr. Stephens's book is a descriptive account principally of Peter Maverick and his work, divided into eight chapters. Part II is a checklist of engravings and lithographs produced by Peter Rushton Maverick, Peter Maverick and other members of the family. More than two-thirds of the list is devoted to the work of Peter Maverick. The checklist contains about a thousand entries, and locations of examples of the prints in one or more of some thirty institutions are regularly indicated in the entries. At the end of the book is an index to the eight chapters of text and a separate index to the checklist. The book contains over thirty illustrations.

The Grolier Club George L. McKay

Sam. Colt's Own Record. Samuel Colt's Own Record of Transactions with Captain Walker and Eli Whitney, Jr. in 1847. Foreword and Notes by JOHN E. PARSONS. (Hartford, Connecticut: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1949. 157 pages, 8 collotype plates. $5.25 includes mailing charges.)

This book gives a consecutive account of the Patent Repeating Pistol of the Model 1847 Whitneyville Walker-Colt. Earlier types of Colt's pistols had been made at Paterson, New Jersey, from 1836 until 1842, when the Patent Arms Manufacturing Company which made them failed. The Paterson Colts had been used successfully in the Texas border fighting, and Army officers, especially Captain Samuel H. Walker, had supreme confidence in them. In 1847 the Mexican War was in full force, and the Texans wanted more repeating pistols in a hurry. On the 4th of January 1847 Colt and Walker made an agreement for the immediate construction of 1000 or a larger number of Colts Patent Repeating Pistols as altered by Colt and Walker.

According to the agreement Colt undertook to make a thousand pistols in less than six months and to deliver the first hundred in three months. It was a bold undertaking, for Colt had no machinery and he even had to borrow one of his own pistols to serve as a model. In Colt's day the machining and boring of a piece of iron was a prodigious undertaking, and artisanship by hand and eye was a dominant exercise. But Colt was a pioneer of the scientific period in manufacture. He knew Eli Whitney, the son of the inventor of the cotton gin, whose father also built a milling machine in 1818 for the manufacture of interchangeable parts for firearms. Colt was able to fill the order by having the pistols made at the armory of Eli Whitney, Jr., in Whitneyville, Connecticut. A formal agreement was made on January 9th between Colt and Whitney, and Colt, who went into this "wartime contract" on a shoestring, agreed on January 13th to assign his contract with Walker as security.

The book includes verbatim the Colt documents which are in the Archives of the Connecticut Historical Society. These include correspondence between Colt and Walker from November 1846, and other relevant correspondence, accounts, and inventories. The Walker-Colt barrels and cylinders were forged and drilled by Slate and Brown, proprietors of a machine shop at Windsor Locks. The steel was supplied by Naylor & Co. of Sheffield, England, New York and Boston. The payroll of Slate and Brown shows the workmen got eight cents an hour, and it was naturally figured to the penny, for example, 62½ hours at 8 cents equals $5.00; bonus 25 cents. Reproduced in facsimile on the covers is the key document—a memorandum of the agreement between Colt and Walker which provided for alterations to the Paterson model by Colt and Walker. This procedure of the responsible officer communicating his needs to the technician or manufacturer has always been normal. It is exactly as it is done today. The Walker-Colt letters are human docu-

ments. Similar letters are written today. They emphasize the interminable delays which are apparently unavoidable when a new item is being built, especially when the principals—in this case Colt the inventor and Walker the soldier—are located far apart. The letters tell about difficulties, disappointments, complaints to subcontractors of inferior work, promises of prompt delivery, scarcity of machines and of skilled labor, round-the-clock work, under-estimates, even red tape. They show the difficulties encountered in developing an item in haste in time of war. Captain Walker received as a present from Colt a pair of revolvers about October 5th when he mentioned them in a letter to his brother. Walker was killed in action on October 9th, the Colts intended for his Company not yet having been received, although 220 pistols had been completed by Colt early in June!

The documents correct some hitherto-published confused and contradictory accounts of the origin of the Walker-Colt pistol, the most interesting single item in the field of Colts. And historical accuracy is of the utmost importance, for the Colt revolver has a prominent place in the history of American inventions and methods of manufacture. The correspondence shows the progress which was being made in the industrial arts. The prescientific era was slow-moving, requiring painstaking handwork; the Colt era employed the modern method of making many thousands of a good model as quickly as possible.

John E. Parsons, who wrote the Foreword and Notes, is well-informed, for he is an experienced student of the many models of Colt firearms. It is through his initiative that the complete history of the manufacture of the Walker-Colt is now available. He has collated the letters with other relevant correspondence from the War Department Archives and Captain Walker's private papers, the latter having been first made available by the late Albert Foster, Jr., who for more than three decades was an official of the Colt Fire Arms Company. The handsomely printed book is a scholarly source publication. It fills, in a thorough and satisfactory manner, a conspicuous gap in the history of the Colt revolver.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art STEPHEN V. GRANCSAY

The Peacemaker and Its Rivals: An Account of The Single Action Colt. By JOHN E. PARSONS. (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1950. viii + 184 pages including appendix, notes, biblio., index, illus. $4.00.)

Though, as the author says, American pistols and revolvers have by now been thoroughly catalogued, " the significance of these weapons in the context of their times remains an inviting study." It is the life story of the most popular of these that the present volume presents, involving,

of course, "rivals and ramifications extending over a century." The single action Colt was "the first cartridge revolver to be officially adopted by the United States Army" and "By all odds, it was the favorite choice among hand firearms of frontiersmen and cowboys." Still "the outstanding leader among weapons of its kind in numbers produced," it "has become as much a part of American folklore as the picturesque users of the gun itself."

The Peacemaker's progenitors, dating from Colt's first American patent of 1836, are reported in an initial chapter and its evolution is traced in Chapter II. Succeeding chapters are given to "The Schofield, Smith & Wesson" (which, unlike the Colt, automatically ejected the empty shell), "The Remington Model of 1875" (illustrated from the Bella C. Landauer Collection at this Society), "Contemporary Opinions" on the relative values of these competitors for military, frontier, and other purposes (Theodore Roosevelt in 1885 expressed his preference for the Colt and his statue before the Museum of Natural History shows him wearing Peacemakers), "Multiball Cartridge," and such "Other Rivals" as Forehand & Wadsworth and Merwin, Hulbert & Co. Chapter VIII deals with the problems incident to the "Adoption of the Double Action" revolver, 1878–1902; and Chapter IX with the "Popularity of the Model 'P'." Christened "The Peacemaker" in 1874, shortly after its adoption by the War Department, the single-action Colt .45 was variously called the "Single Action Army," "thumb-buster," "plowhandle," "hog leg," "equalizer," or "forty-five." Starting in 1873, the Model "P" (Colt's designation of all single-action solid-frame pistols) remained in continuous production till 1941, when the final serial number was 357,859—"the longest period of popularity of any sort of revolver in the world."

Final chapters cover: "Variations and Target Types," "Serial Numbers and Sales," "Volume of Production by Calibres," "Patents and Pirates," and the "Significance of the Revolver," with an appendix on "The Thuer Conversion." The text is well documented, the bibliography ample, and the index convenient for reference. The sixty-nine illustrations, including endpapers, are clear, attractive, and informative; they include: Peacemaker No. 1; the pistols of Generals R. E. Lee, John H. Morgan, and P. H. Sheridan; Buffalo Bill's six-shooter of 1881 and the decorative Peacemakers ordered by William S. Hart of silent movie fame; the 1872 Colts of General Rivera of Mexico; and others even more significant.

This attractively written book is packed with facts, tables, statistics —the necessary antidote to the gaudier but not more interesting tall tales and folklore which have justifiably emphasized the rôle of the old six-shooter in the winning of a continent. This is the study to which historians should turn for the true story of that paragon of single-action revolvers—the Peacemaker.

C.E.B.

Government and Labor in Early America. By Richard B. Morris. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. xvi + 557 pages. $6.75.)

This volume contains an *Introduction* in which there is a good account of The Mercantilist Background of American Labor Relations; six chapters devoted to *Free Labor;* three chapters on *Bound Labor*, and a *Conclusion.* The period covered extends from the early part of the 17th century to the last decade of the 18th. For purposes of comparison, some notice is taken of the conditions of labor and of the relationship of government thereto following 1800, and of the past two decades of the present century. The milieu is the English colonies of North America and the British West Indies. The author writes clearly, has a decided flare for the dramatic, and probably presents the material chosen for the volume as favorably as it was possible to present it. The citation of source material, primary and secondary, given in the text and in footnotes is imposing; almost overwhelming. One can but admire the industry and stamina that must have been the author's to have mastered this material sufficiently well to have used it in a serious study.

In the "Preface" the author states (page viii) that the "study is confined to an analysis of the legal and social position of free and bound labor. Except in so far as its impact was felt directly upon the free and bound labor systems, slavery is not accorded special treatment." As for the main reliance of the work, the reader is informed (page ix) that "Some twenty thousand cases, largely unpublished, have been reviewed in the course of the investigation of which this volume is the end product. The principal source has been a field largely unexplored—the unpublished inferior court records of the American colonies. To examine these, the writer traversed the Eastern seaboard from Wiscasset, Maine, and Woodsville, New Hampshire, to St. Augustine, Florida. Statutes, town ordinances, and vestry books complemented the judicial records. Wherever possible these sources were supplemented by contemporary newspapers, travels, diaries, letter books, military order books, and business papers.

"Paper restrictions imposed by our wartime emergency dictated a drastic reduction of the size of this book. . . . It was necessary to omit numerous tables illustrating the business of the colonial courts in the labor field and the specific action taken in such fields as absenteeism, servitude in satisfaction of criminal sentence, apprenticeship, grounds for granting relief to servants, and wage suits brought by mariners. Nevertheless, the general trends and conclusions to which these tables point have been included, and the actual cases have been cited. . . ."

The account set forth should, therefore, be judged mainly in accordance with the utilization shown to have been made of these court records.

A reading of the study shows, unfortunately, that the author did not make extended use of the inferior court records of the colonies. On the contrary, he relied primarily on documentary material found in colonial records other than legal, such as the Connecticut Public Records, the

Records of North Carolina, Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York, Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies, or Massachusetts Acts and Resolves. Newspapers were also generously relied upon. It would appear that the use made of secondary material was more extensive than that made of primary sources.

But more important is the circumstance that the investigation of the inferior court records of the several colonies that text and footnote shows was made, was incomplete. That is the case unless the information gained was the result of a process of sampling which for colonial court records would be an absurdity. The sources cited throughout the volume, and the references in the index, fully substantiate this statement. The court records located in Boston, Massachusetts, in the City of New York, in Annapolis, Maryland, and in Charleston, South Carolina, appear to have been examined. But with certain exceptions the legal records of the various interior counties of the colonies were not investigated. If they were, no notice of them, or of the cases that are to be found in them, aside from a few statements such as occur on pages ix and 498, appears in text, footnotes, or index. And since it is in the inferior courts of the interior counties of the colonies where cases affecting labor in an agricultural society would normally arise and be found, and are to be found, this is a serious omission. From weeks and weeks spent among the records of the inferior courts in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, the present reviewer has seen entries concerning labor that would lend color to the study under review; but of them no citation has been made. Except for counties Rappahannock in Virginia, and Granville, Chatham, Guilford, Edgecomb, Martin, and Rutherford in North Carolina, the labor cases cited from Maryland south were taken from the records of counties located geographically along the Atlantic seaboard. The scores of other interior counties of the colonies below Pennsylvania appear to have been passed by. If the legal records in them were not investigated, as seems to have been the case, the picture of labor that has been painted is not so rounded a one as it might well have been, nor so complete as the author has given the impression it is. Then, too, it is astonishing to notice how small was the number of counties that were investigated. Perhaps an excursion only into the county legal records was made; not a thorough investigation. In regard to such investigations, it should be mentioned that the court records of North and South Carolina are not so cryptic, nor so few in number, as it is alleged (page 498) that they are.

Another aspect of the matter of the investigation of colonial court records should also be mentioned. Since the author of the present study has been making investigations of colonial judicial records over a period of years, and has published several books and papers based upon the results of his research, he knows the great number of hours and the extensive waste motion that are involved in traveling to, becoming settled in and in working at, the village or city where the records are located.

Then, too, the condition of the records may mean, and often does mean, that hours of time must be spent in deciphering them. To read the legislative, judicial and administrative records that cover one hundred and fifty years, or more, which are located in the capitals of the original thirteen States, plus those to be found in the scores of county seats and in private depositories, to say nothing of those of the West Indies or of the voluminous archival material in England, and to transcribe by longhand, or in shorthand, portions thereof that may be pertinent and relevant for the writing of a book of the kind under review, is frankly the work of a lifetime, not of the spare time that can be found between the duties incumbent upon teaching a full schedule at college, writing books, pamphlets and articles, and engaging in time-consuming activities for city and national government. It is the exceptional person who could perform even a portion of such duties. The statement at the top of page ix should, therefore, be kept constantly in mind by the reader.

A few additional comments may be in order. Praise of government in behalf of labor comes off second best in this study as compared to the exegesis of the harsh treatment accorded labor by legislative, executive and judicial organs of government. The bright side of the colonial labor situation has been neglected. Thousands of laboring men, free and bound, risked an Atlantic crossing to improve their lot in America. Other thousands, during the period covered by this study, were born in one or the other of the colonies. The lot of these men was not all drudgery, nor were they treated badly by government institutions or officials. Never before in the history of the world had men who supported themselves and their families by daily toil been so blessed, or had such opportunities open to them. Of these thousands, this book has little to say.

Why the remonstrances and uprisings of the so-called Regulators that took place in North Carolina, 1764–1770, were not exploited in this study, is not explained. Their problems and the official action that was taken against them as well as that put into effect to relieve the conditions complained of, are not mentioned.

In spite of the somewhat misleading assertion of the author relating to his source material, namely that *Government and Labor in Early America* is primarily the end product of the investigation of 20,000 cases, largely unpublished, of the inferior courts of the American colonies, the study is a worthy one. Present-day social scientists and public administrators trying to solve current labor problems will probably find the story told comforting. For the social and economic historian the exposition should provide factual material of a high order to fill in some of the gaps that have existed relating to wages, prices, and general laboring conditions, in early American history. Quite probably not soon again will anyone have time or inclination to undertake so extended a study for any other period of our history.

Rutgers University, Newark Colleges PAUL M. HAMLIN

The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century 1607–1689. By Wesley Frank Craven. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949. xv + 451 pages, including a critical essay on authorities and index, illus. $6.00.)

Wesley Frank Craven's survey of English colonization southward from the Chesapeake follows the pattern laid down by Herbert Osgood in the 1890's and fulfilled by Charles Andrews in the 1930's with the publication of *The Colonial Period of American History*. Generously conceived and patiently executed, it is primarily concerned with the adaptation of English institutions to the new environment of the North American wilderness. Serving as the first volume of *A History of the South*, a project sponsored by Louisiana State University and the Littlefield Fund for Southern History, the book takes its place also within the tradition of regional literature.

The merits and limitations of this study can be observed conveniently against the background of these two schools of historical writing. Like Andrews, Professor Craven would rather be careful than exciting. His study everywhere reflects the assiduity of a meticulous and interested researcher, but at the same time it suggests the diffidence which overwhelms many historians when the opportunity arises to probe the meaning of the assembled facts. When the facts speak for themselves, as they do when Professor Craven deals with a comparatively limitable subject such as the development of county government, the book is at its best. When the subject matter is rather vague—the background of settlement, for example—the author's scholarly compunctions seem to inhibit him from presenting the extended analysis to which his scholarship entitles him.

Although Professor Craven is a Southerner writing about the South, his affection is largely restrained by his scholarly intentions. If this precludes the insights born of the enthusiasm of a Walter Webb discussing the western plains, or a Frederick Jackson Turner rhapsodizing about the frontier, it also accounts for the tone of balance and moderation here present which are so often lacking in regional historians. However, the reader does receive the impression that the task of writing a history of the South has been interpreted a bit too narrowly. More attention could properly have been paid to the course of events in England, so important to American development, and to the progress of the Northern colonies which soon became entwined with the South through exports, imports, and migrations.

The contribution of this study is unfortunately defined by the necessary circumstance that it trods for the most part over familiar ground. The institutions of the South have received extended treatment before; and the materials of social history which Professor Craven would have found so useful in making clear the Southern "way of life" apparently do not exist in sufficient quantity to permit a detailed discussion. The author correctly informs us that, contrary to the popular caricature, the sub-

sistence farmer was the typical 17th-century Southerner; but the historical record is not complete enough to furnish us a lively picture of his thoughts and daily routine.

Actually a "way of life" has many facets which do not yield themselves to the customary methods of historical research, especially when it is conducted in the colonial period. Two principal alternatives exist. The first, which Professor Craven eschews, involves filling the gaps with speculations and projections most facilely achieved with the aid of a comprehensive philosophy of history. The second, preferred by most "objective" historians, results in a trustworthy but somewhat incomplete account such as the author has given us.

Columbia University DONALD SHEEHAN

Greenwich Village Today & Yesterday. Photographs by BERENICE ABBOTT. Text by HENRY WYSHAM LANIER. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949. xi + 161 pages including index, 70 illus. $5.00.)

The historical background of the Dutch and Revolutionary periods makes this more than a guide book. The early history of the Village relates mainly to the Dutch land grants and to former slaves, but this does not lack interest. In his analysis of the character of the first settlers the author becomes bitter. The hostility of the white man rather than the Indian is held responsible for the conflicts that ensued. However, the author feels that the Indian was abused but not cheated. Although the cost of Manhattan Island was "dirt" cheap, it was, nevertheless, not the property alone of the Indians who sold it.

During the Revolution Greenwich Village was still in a backwater, cut off from the City by swampland with no highway leading to it. As a result, the Village was spared the horrors of war. Isolated in this manner, it later became a haven for the yellow-fever refugees.

Present-day buildings and their antecedents are described. Also mentioned are the landmarks that refuse to be laid to rest with the human beings who created them. The author laments that these remnants of the past can be only for the historian. Since dwellings take up precious space, they are, in the opinion of some, impediments to present-day living standards which dictate that when a thing becomes old, it automatically becomes useless and must be sacrificed for the new.

The facts of how Village topography became so tangled are a must for anyone who anticipates setting foot in the territory. When, in 1811, Commissioners were appointed to plan the street arrangement for the City, they were obliged to conform to the whims of a meandering brook and the obstinacy of Henry Brevoort.

Literary figures such as Tom Paine, Irving, Poe, Mark Twain, and Eugene O'Neill and artists such as Trumbull, Morse, St. Gaudens, and

Ryder formed the foundations in succeeding generations for a Village art colony that has shaped the literary and artistic tastes of the country. Just as Fulton launched his steamboat from a Village dock, so the success of 20-century theatrical performers has been launched here.

Reminiscences of the turn-of-the-century generation which worked and frolicked here link us to its romantic past. The excellent photographs covering every phase of modern Village life make an interesting contrast to the early settlement. Noticeably absent is illustrative material covering the latter which would have enlivened an already fascinating text.

The New-York Historical Society — Betty Ezequelle

West Point: A History of the United States Military Academy. By Sidney Forman. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. 255 pages, illus., biblio., index. $3.75.)

West Point by Dr. Sidney Forman, Archivist at the United States Military Academy, is an excellent little book which offers in brief, but comprehensive, form a well-balanced history of the West Point peninsula and of the MilitaryAcademy from the era of the American Revolution to the present time. His work does not attempt to compare with Edward C. Boynton's *History of West Point* (1863) or with the monumental *Centennial History* published in 1904, but its value is inherent in the fact that it is the first attempt in nearly half a century to evaluate the rôle of the Military Academy after the effects of two world wars and a new world situation. It presents the West Point story with brevity and clarity, and in a well-documented and readable style which enables full comprehension of the author's vital points.

Dr. Forman traces the history of the Point during and after the War for American Independence when it existed as a military garrison post, the formation of the Academy in 1802, the early years and the superintendency of Sylvanus Thayer when its curriculum and principles crystallized, and its story through the Mexican, Civil, and Spanish-American Wars and World Wars I and II. He points out how successive wars have influenced the curriculum: how studies have been adapted to fit changing concepts of military strategy and tactics, and how emphasis shifted from civil engineering in the 19th century to mechanized warfare and air power in the 20th century. One of the most interesting chapters, in this reviewer's opinion, is one on cadet life at West Point from the 1820's to 1850's composed entirely of extracts from letters contemporary with the period which give an interesting insight into various phases of cadet activity one hundred and more years ago, from the time of their entry into the Academy to the time of their graduation. The interested reader will find this a handy and companionable volume.

The New-York Historical Society — Richard J. Koke

The Life and Work of David G. Blythe, By Dorothy Miller. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1950. 143 pages, biblio., index, illus. $5.00.)

Here for the first time has been published a biography of one of America's more interesting genre painters and one of the few 19th-century American caricaturists. Miss Miller, after ten years of searching for biographical facts and for paintings, has written a most readable account of Blythe's frustrated life, which spanned the years from 1815 to 1865. The painter in his youth was apprenticed to a wood carver and one of his early works is the eight-foot wooden statue of General Lafayette at Uniontown, Pennsylvania. With no formal art training, he became a portrait painter at a fairly early age. By 1851 he was at work on a grandiose panorama, measuring three hundred feet in length and showing the landscape of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, which has long since been destroyed. Today we have little by which to judge Blythe's landscape ability other than his well-known "General Doubleday Crossing the Potomac." We learn from the text that the greater number of Blythe's genre paintings date from the last decade of his life, 1856–1865, after he had returned to Pittsburgh. Such paintings of this period as "The Post Office," "Stage Coach," "Courtroom Scene," "Libby Prison," "January Bills," and "Horsemarket," are the basis of the artist's reputation as a first-rate genre painter and caricaturist. Mount and Bingham may perhaps be considered better painters and finer draughtsmen but Blythe's contribution to the social scene is significant enough to bring his name into alignment with the best of the contemporary American genre painters.

Following the text is an eight-page checklist of the works of Blythe. The author wisely does not call this part a "catalogue." It is merely a classified list of portraits, genre, Civil War scenes, landscape, etc. A section of unlocated paintings follows and the listing is concluded by the mention of two wood carvings. Title, size (but not support), and ownership are given throughout. Blythe, unfortunately, did not make a practice of dating his paintings, so a chronological listing is not possible. A little more information such as a reference to a published reproduction and to an exhibition record would have made the checklist more valuable as a reference tool. As it stands in its skeleton form it is practically useless. The section most likely to be consulted, that on genre and the Civil War, is badly alphabetized and subjects that are so alike as to be confusing such as the two "Stage Coach" paintings are not properly distinguished one from the other. The first entry reads "The Stage Coach" with the former, not the present, owner given, then five entries later we find "Stage Coach" owned by the Duquesne Club. A few brief words of description mentioning the variations between the two paintings should have been given, since only the latter is illustrated. The reference to the color differ-

ences between the two paintings on page 77 is meaningless, since neither painting is reproduced in color.

The book contains twenty full-page illustrations of exceedingly poor quality. The best illustration—"The Post Office"—appears on the book jacket, and it should be compared with the same subject found within the book. Not only should the publishers have demanded higher quality in the illustrations, but they should not have been satisfied with such a meager number.

There is too little standardization of picture titles within the book. It is confusing to find the caption under an illustration reading "President Lincoln Writing the Emancipation Proclamation," while the same work is variously listed in the text as "Emancipation Proclamation" or merely as "Emancipation." It is also curious to find the author not making a clear distinction between ownership credit and photographic credit. She credits the reproduction of "Emancipation" to a photograph, the original painting having been lost since 1879, without making clear that the photograph is of an extremely rare (though this interesting fact is not stated) lithograph, rather than the original; presumably all the other illustrations are from original oils or drawings.

The bibliography, covering three and a half pages, is so diffuse as to be useless to anyone seeking items that relate specifically to David G. Blythe. There are only a few published items that are strictly speaking Blythe publications. One of these is the article by Evelyn Abraham (here misspelled Abrahams) which was published in *Antiques*, May 1935, wherein source credit is given for the eight accompanying illustrations, including the photograph of the General Lafayette statue provided by the Carnegie Institute which Miss Miller also reproduces (slightly cropped) without credit and with no mention of the additional illustrations to be found in the *Antiques* article. The name of Lloyd Goodrich, author of the Blythe biographical essay published in the Whitney Museum Blythe exhibition catalogue of 1936, does not appear in the bibliography. The author may have assumed that museums, in some impersonal manner, put together exhibition catalogues, but signed articles should show authorship in a bibliography. Similarly, though the author quotes Goodrich in her text (page 110), his name does not appear in the all-too-brief index. Another item which should have been at least listed in the bibliography is the published catalogue of the Blythe exhibition held at the Butler Art Institute, October–November, 1947, to which Miss Miller contributed an introduction. Had the paintings shown in these two exhibitions been but signalled in her checklist, the clerical incompetence otherwise sadly evident in this monograph might have been more easily condoned.

Smith College Museum of Art MARY BARTLETT COWDREY

Primitive Painters in America, 1750-1950. By Jean Lipman and Alice Winchester. (New York: Dodd Mead & Co., 1950. 182 pages, 4 color plates, 74 black and white illus. $6.00.)

When a new book is published by an authority, such as Mrs. Lipman, in the field of American primitive art it should carry weight and be a valuable addition to the recorded history of this small, but important, facet of our culture. One should expect evidence of painstaking research and a scholarly presentation of the material found. Such a book would serve as a base, a spur for further work in the field. This book does not.

Instead, the present work is a collection of previously printed biographical sketches of sixteen primitive painters, two superficial essays on the 18th- and 20th-century folk artists, and the inevitable essay on the "why" and the "who" of "primitive" painting. The last will not explain to many why Winthrop Chandler, Ralph Earl, and the Bard brothers are included. Agreement will probably never be reached, however, on who is, and who is not, a "primitive" painter. And the authors' right to include and exclude whomever they wish is more valid than the reader's right to quibble over their decision.

The raison d'être for this collection would seem to have been the desire to publish the list of 576 primitive painters that concludes the book. This record gives name, locale, dates of artist's life span or of his work, subject, and medium in almost every case. The result of fifteen years' labor, the value of it is unquestionable. This value would have been further enhanced if the list had been carefully checked before printing. As it stands there are several bad errors—misspelled names, wrong locale, a date wrong by 49 years, a painter listed as dying the year she was born. The entire book abounds in typographical errors, the more surprising considering its authors are both editors of well-known magazines and both have had books published previously. Such errors in the text are only annoying to the reader, however, while those in the record or list are tragic. Here is a quick, easy source of vital data on little-known artists which will be used again and again. The result will be that over and over the mistakes will appear in print until no one knows the original source and completely false facts are perpetuated. Too much of this has happened in the past and is still happening to excuse the present errors, since they apparently were not caused by lack of knowledge but by carelessness.

A comparison of some of the chapters with the original articles has proved interesting. For instance, in Arthur Edwin Bye's account of Edward Hicks he has presumably changed his mind since his article appeared in *Antiques* (Jan. 1936). He now says, "*The Cornell Farm* is the artist's masterpiece. It is a large canvas, brilliant in color and full of detail. The sky is clear, transparent, and full of movement; the distant hills, the apple orchard, are skillfully subdued." Formerly he had said, "*The Leedom Farm*, . . . , is the artist's masterpiece. Etc. Etc." Or was this

picture mistakenly identified before? It would be useful to know. And is it in the portrait of Henry Root or Henry Wood that "Aunt Ruth" Bascom painted such a charming landscape background? The reader is left to assume that since Agnes M. Dods's article on Mrs. Bascom in *Antiques* (Oct., 1944) a correction has been made. These may appear to be minor points to criticize, but to the art historian such facts are vital.

A major help to students who might have wished to use this book would have been the addition of sources. Since trouble was taken to gather and republish these sketches a little more effort in expanding them in this fashion would have been commendable. For example, the page-and-a-half bibliography accompanying the extensive story of Rufus Porter in the October 1950 *Art in America* would have made more valuable the main article, which is here reprinted, in lasting book form. There is not even a reference to the magazine for those who would like to know the sources of information on this little-known, and most fascinating, primitive painter. Though he was important enough to be included in the *Dictionary of American Biography* no mention is made of that fact. Thus a lead to further information is missing. For most of these artists there is absolutely no way of ascertaining where the few facts of their lives were found or upon what authority they rest.

A book such as this is sad. It promises so much. It provides so little.

The New-York Historical Society ROBERTA LEIGHTON

Shaker Furniture: The Craftsmanship of an American Communal Sect. By EDWARD DEMING ANDREWS and FAITH ANDREWS. With 48 photographs by WILLIAM F. WINTER. (New York: Dover Publications, 1950. xi + 133 pages, including appendices, biblio., index. $6.00.)

This volume is a reprint identical in format with the original volume published in 1937 by the Yale University Press. However, its price has been reduced from $10 to $6, which should be an inducement for those who were unable to purchase it when it first appeared.

Mr. and Mrs. Andrews were among the first to recognize the beauty of the Shaker furniture and to try to preserve what was fast disappearing. They not only gathered a fine collection of furniture and allied crafts but also gained an insight into the religious nature of the sect. This was important to their story, since the furniture was an expression of the Shaker faith.

It is still a timely book because the functionalism of the Shaker furniture is so much akin to the so-called modern trend of our own time. Many of the pieces illustrated in this book would be a credit to a modern designer.

The photographs are excellent, as are the descriptions of each plate. There is a good bibliography and the appendices contain much interesting material.

The New-York Historical Society CAROLYN SCOON

American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 260 Years: 1690 to 1950. By Frank Luther Mott. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950. xiv + 835 pages, illus., index. $5.00.)

This revised edition of a work which a decade ago became, as it remains today, the recognized master history of American newspapers needs no further introduction to the readers of this *Quarterly* than that five new chapters have brought it up to date and that minor additions to the bibliographical notes and text and the correction of a few errors in the 1941 edition make it better than ever. The new 1940–50 chapters deal with "Coverage of the Second World War," "Government and Press," "Major Newspaper Changes" (written too early to catch the *New York World-Telegram and The Sun* merger), "Management Problems," and "The News and Its Status." Intervening monographic studies have superseded portions of the early history and the complaint has recently been made that "The completion of Clarence S. Brigham's notable *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820* (Worcester, Mass., 1947) more than ever points up the lack of a good history of early American journalism," but to date no one has dared the attempt to supplant Dean Mott's great work. To the splendid earlier chapters it is a matter of pride that both The New-York Historical Society and its present director are acknowledged for substantial contributions.

C.E.B.

Quakers in Science and Industry, Being an Account of the Quaker Contributions to Science and Industry during the 17th and 18th Centuries. By Arthur Raistrick, M.Sc., Ph.D. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. 361 pages including index, illus. $6.00.)

A former president of the Friends Historical Association, London, Dr. Raistrick presents the Quakers in England during 1650–1800 as traders and merchants, ironmasters, operators of mining companies and other industries, as clock and instrument makers, botonists and naturalists, doctors of medicine, and as bankers. With liberal reliance on account books and journals, statistical analyses, and biographical treatment of Quaker industrialists and scientists, the author not only demonstrates the extent and manner of the Quaker contribution but also is able to suggest what was specifically Quaker in it. The book does not supersede Isabel Grubb's *Quakerism and Industry Before 1800* (London: 1930), which covers the same ground in a third the space but with emphasis mainly upon the Friends' *attitude* toward trade and business morals. Since Dr. Raistrick carries his study into the broader field of the actual contributions by Quakers to science and industry, both as a firmly knit group and as individuals, his volume has independent and probably wider value. Though no attempt has been made to reflect the influence of this activity on the contemporary Quaker communities of the New World, other

than briefly in Benjamin Franklin's relations with British Friends, the book will be useful to students of those communities and of Colonial history generally.

C.E.B.

Album of American History. Volume V: Index. Editor in Chief, James Truslow Adams; Managing Editor, R. V. Coleman; Associate Editor, Joseph G. E. Hopkins; Art Director, Atkinson Dymock. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949. x + 222 pages. $5.00.)

In its April 1947 review of the *Album of American History* the *NYHS Quarterly* eagerly looked forward "to a comprehensive index to the preceding four volumes" which would "add greatly to their value as a reference work." Here it is, having gone to the compositor just as its renowned editor in chief lay down his earthly task forever. It gives every appearance of being a true analytical key, opening the 1,649 pages and more than 5,000 pictures of the *Album* proper with greater consideration for the user's convenience and forethought to his possible avenues of approach than is usual in indexes. Typographically and stylistically it is a joy to use. However, serious lapses of cross-indexing make this necessary tool fall short of the ideal the editors had set for it. Take, "for example, the picture of Wall Street, New York City, on page 68 of Volume II," which the introductory note on "How to Use This Index" analyses as a typical index problem to give "some idea of the approach which was made to the indexing," thus: Besides being "a general view of that famous thoroughfare as it looked in 1797 . . . the picture showed several specimens of Dutch and English colonial architecture. . . . It illustrated, also, the kind of brick pavement used in the Eighteenth Century. And at the head of Broad Street was to be seen Federal Hall, the first national Capitol." Not mentioned is the fact that the view was taken from an original watercolor by John J. Holland, shows among other buildings the First Presbyterian Church, illustrates street pumps as used in 1797, etc. "To bring into our Index the diversity suggested above," as the editors statedly intended, one would expect this picture to be indexed under at least a few of the following headings either in the main alphabet or under New York or in one of the chronologies: architecture; bricks; capitols (U.S.); churches; Dutch houses; Federal Hall; Holland, John B.; houses; paving; pumps; streets; views; Wall Street. Though all of these subjects, with the exception of the artist, appear as index headings —under none is the picture in question cited. So far as this reviewer could find, it is indexed in but two places: "New York—Broad and Wall Street" and "New York—City Hall." The user cannot be sure to exhaust the pictures relating to the subject of his interest even by combing this index. But he will have to have it. The printing and binding are first-rate.

C.E.B.

James Madison, Father of the Constitution 1787–1800. By Irving Brant. (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1950. 520 pages including biblio., notes, index, illus. $6.00.)

This third volume of Brant's monumental life of James Madison hardly needs further introduction to the readers of this *Quarterly* than the reminder that its predecessors, subtitled respectively *The Virginia Revolutionist: 1751–1780* and *The Nationalist: 1780–1787*, achieved a standard in historical biography which won for them the general acclaim of scholarly reviewers, and that the present volume deals—and in equally masterful fashion—with the period in which Madison, at the pinnacle of his greatness, made his most important contributions to the development of the nation. The framing and ratification of the Constitution, the political and economic motivations of the compromises embodied in it, the background and purposes of the Bill of Rights, the controversies connected with Hamilton's funding and assumption policies, the crystallization of the Republican-Democratic party—these are among the weighty subjects illuminated by this book. That the superlative "definitive" should have been carelessly bestowed upon this great biography in progress is not surprising, but that no subject of such magnitude, involving as it does still-hot political passions and conflicting historiographic viewpoints, can be exhausted by one man to the equal satisfaction of all is copiously exemplified in Brant's *Father of the Constitution*. How differently, for instance, would any convinced Hamiltonian have treated the question of exploitation of the public debt! This is not to deny, however, that no historian of our generation is likely to supersede Brant's admirable work or that readers who may be irritated by some of his interpretations will nevertheless have to read him.

C.E.B.

CORRECTIONS

In the April 1951 issue of the *Quarterly*, page 162, the portrait attributed to John Smibert which Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis presented to the Society was incompletely identified as of "Mrs. Clarke of Salem." By courtesy of Mr. Alan Burroughs, information is now at hand identifying the subject as "Mrs. Clarke Gayton."

In the July 1951 issue of the *Quarterly*, page 230, Ezra Ames's portrait of Mrs. Ezekiel (Sally Emes) Mulford, owned by Miss Edith S. Wade, was mistakenly said to be on loan at the Albany Institute of History and Art, and the caption of the accompanying portrait of Jesse Emes, father of the artist, should have indicated ownership by the Albany Institute of History and Art through the gift of Miss Mary L. Sutliff.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

THE first fall exhibition, SURVIVORS OF A CENTURY, opened on September 18th. New York City newspapers over 100 years old are the subject of this special exhibition which will continue through December 30th. The RECENT ACCESSIONS exhibition opened on October 23d, and on St. Nicholas Day a permanent exhibition of early American toys will open in the library corridor.

The following lectures for members and friends have been scheduled:

October 2: Mr. L. F. Hagglund will speak on "The Birth of a Navy," a lecture about the battle of Lake Champlain in 1776 which will be illustrated with motion pictures.

November 6: In connection with the newspaper exhibition, SURVIVORS OF A CENTURY, speakers from two New York City newspapers will share the platform. They will be Major General Julius Ochs Adler, General Manager of *The New York Times* which celebrates its 100th anniversary this year, and Mr. James Wechsler, Editor of the *New York Post* which celebrates its 150th anniversary.

December 6: On St. Nicholas Day, John Mulholland will present "Quicker Than the Eye," a program of magic.

Continuing the Saturday afternoon motion picture showings, a new series of ten programs will begin in October, consisting of films on contemporary America. Each program will last approximately one hour and will commence at 2:30 in the afternoon. The schedule follows:

October 13: "Conservation Road," "Power Behind the Nation" and "Productivity: Key to Plenty."

October 20: "The Cowboy," "Water for Dry Land" and "Industrial Lake Port."

October 27: "Big Harvest," "Farm and City" and "Here is Tomorrow."

November 3: "Here Comes the Mail" and "Palmour Street."

November 10: "Valley Town," "Machine: Master or Slave" and "Made in U. S. A."

November 17: "Answer For Anne" and "A U. S. Community and its Citizens."

November 24: "Wilson Dam School" and "Assignment Tomorrow."

December 1: "As Our Boyhood Is," "Make Way for Youth" and "Children's Village."

December 8: "Democracy's Diary," "The Challenge" and "The Town."

December 15: "Books and People: The Wealth Within," "Your National Art Gallery" and "Hymn of the Nations."

RECENT ACCESSIONS

FOUR club books of Squadron A Club; 22 Rosters of the Association of Ex-Members of Squadron A, New York City. *Gift of the Association of Ex-Members of Squadron A.*

Nineteen checks drawn by William M. Tweed, 1866–1871; six letters to Tweed, 1866–1871, from Peter B. Sweeney, Governor John Hoffman, A. Oakey Hall, James Fiske, Jr., Dr. J. M. Carnochan, August Belmont. *Gift of Mr. Parker W. Barnum.*

Over 500 letters to Silas Wright Burt (1830–1912), relating mainly to Civil Service Reform, including three letters from Theodore Roosevelt, 12 from Carl Schurz, and over 200 from George William Curtis; manuscript Personal Reminiscences, 1830-1863, of Silas Wright Burt; manuscript volume of his "An Ancestral Quest." *Gift of the Estate of Lilian (Burt) Baylis, his daughter.*

Uniform and accessories of the 7th Regiment, New York National Guard. *Gift of Mr. Edmond C. Bonaventure.*

Over 600 letters and manuscripts of American journalists and men of prominence, 1762–1950. *Gift of Mr. James Wright Brown.*

"A Shipbuilder's Scrapbook," a compilation of newspaper clippings concerning shipbuilding and the American merchant marine, 1817–1932 and 1936-1949, in 18 volumes. *Gift of Mr. Charles W. Bryan, Jr.*

One hundred and seventy-nine carte-de-visite photographs of American Civil War officers and scenes; 26 calling cards; five invitations to Mr. and Mrs. Harrington of Chittenango, N.Y. *Gift of Mrs. Charles Comfort.*

Nine reprints of articles by the donor about Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon and the Mason-Dixon Line. *Gift of Dr. Thomas D. Cope.*

Volume of sketches in New York, Connecticut, and Europe and five small lithographs of Hudson valley scenes by Theodore Dwight, Jr. (1796–1866), donors' grandfather. *Gift of the Misses Eleanor A. and Isabel S. Ferris.*

Two panels, *Reptiles*, *Birds and Insects* by Otto Van Schrieck (1613–1673. *Gift of Mr. George A. Ferris.*

Box made by Peter Cooper (1791–1883); box of sections of the Atlantic cable distributed by Tiffany & Co., to commemorate the completion of the cable, August 21, 1858; 52 photographs and 17 negatives of New York City elevated railroads and trolleys; 40 engravings; 10 volumes of Moody's investment manuals for 1946 and 1947. *Gift of Mr. Norvin H. Green.*

Piece of ocean telegraph cable cut at Cienfuegos, Cuba, by a boat expedition under the command of Lieut. C. McR. Winslow, May 11, 1898; relics from the Spanish-American War, given to donor by his late brother-in-law, Capt. William Butler Duncan, Jr., U.S.N.: piece of ensign from masthead of the *U.S.S. Brooklyn*, at the Battle of Santiago, July 3, 1898; capital from a column in the cabin of the Spanish cruiser,

Reina Mercedes; one pounder Spanish shell taken from the wreck of the Spanish cruiser, *Maria Teresa*, after the battle of Santiago by Duncan, then of the *U.S.S. Yankee;* clip of Mauser cartridges from the wreck of the Spanish cruiser *Vizcaya* after battle of Santiago; 37 letters and manuscripts to, and pertaining to, Admiral Cameron McRae Winslow (1854–1932), U.S.N., donor's brother-in-law; *Manning's Yacht Registers*, 1895–1903; five *Lloyd's Registers of American Yachts;* other reference volumes. *Gift of Henry O. Havemeyer, Esq.*

Pottery bowl from which George Washington ate bread and milk at Ozias Marvin's Inn, Norwalk, Conn., in 1789; pottery water-heating outfit; carved wooden figure of an Iroquois Indian; doll dressed as a bride of *c.* 1883; four daguerreotypes of unidentified members of the Hurlbutt family; photograph given to the donor by Miss Orie Marvin of East Norwalk, Conn., showing interior of Ozias Marvin's inn where Washington stopped in 1789; *Godey's Lady's Book*, Feb.-Dec. 1859; facsimile of the *Morning Herald*, New York, May 6, 1835. *Gift of Mrs. C. W. Hillyer, in memory of A. S. Hurlbutt.*

Twenty-one letters, 1827–1831, from Jonathan Lawrence, Jr., a young lawyer in New York City, to George Edward Hoffman, son of Judge Josiah Ogden Hoffman. *Gift of Mr. Edward Fenno Hoffman, grandson of the recipient.*

Two English silver nutmeg graters which were used by Joshua Brookes (1773–1859), donor's great-grandfather. *Gift of Mrs. W. A. Hutcheson.*

Twelve drawings, 1853, by Benjamin F. Dwight, the architect, of the New Brighton, Staten Island, residence of Francis George Shaw, donor's grandfather. *Gift of Mrs. Pierre Jay.*

Bronze replica of *Cleopatra's Needle*, the Egyptian obelisk which now stands in Central Park. *Gift of Mr. Townsend Lawrence.*

Thirty-two books and ten pamphlets from the library of the late Claude G. Leland, with 43 books made up of magazine articles on related historical subjects of the American Revolution and the Civil War. *Gift of Mrs. Claude G. Leland.*

Coaching horn and whip of the Road Coach *Lightning;* four coaching whips. *Gift of Mrs. E. Victor Loew.*

Seven hundred and sixty volumes and 40 pamphlets from the libraries of Robert R. Livingston and other members of the Livingston family; 14 Bibles; manuscript diary kept by Elizabeth R. Livingston during her trip to Europe in 1875; seven atlases. *Gift of the late Mr. Goodhue Livingston.*

Fifty-three manuscripts relating to Castle Garden, New York City, under the proprietorship of French & Heiser, including their agreements with Peet and Berrian, master builders, and with Cesare Capelli, artist, 1844; account of stock, May 1, 1846; agreements of George Holland with 18 actors and actresses, June 1848; agreements of French and Heiser with seven musicians, 1849; five salary lists; memorandum about stage

settings. *Gift of Mr. DeWitt M. Lockman and Mr. John Q. Lockman, surviving executors of Maria S. Heiser.*

Miniature of *Margaret Babcock* (1804–1826) by Henry Inman; miniature of *Mrs. William Lewis Morris* by Nathaniel Rogers; silver sugar tongs made by J. & J. Cox of New York with the Arden family crest; cup and saucer with gold monogram "AA," which belonged to Abijah Arden, donor's great-great aunt. *Gift of Mr. John B. Morris.*

Seventy-nine packages of newspaper and magazine clippings relating to New York City. *Gift of Mr. Robert Mountsier.*

Eighty-two amateur periodicals; ephemera; twenty-one photographs, 1951, of street life and architectural details, New York City. *Gift of Mr. Beecher Ogden.*

Portrait of *John Cole* (1784–1851) possibly by Waldo and Jewett; portrait of *Christina Mary Nichols* by Ferraris, 1901. *Gift of Mrs. Kerr Rainsford.*

The *New York Herald*, 1883–1887, in 30 volumes. *Gift of Mrs. Helen Rogers Reid.*

Twenty-three photographs, showing demolition of Cathedral College, Madison Avenue between 51st and 52d Streets, and the erection of an office building on the site. *Gift of Mr. Richard Roth.*

Collection of military equipment relating to the Seventh Regiment, including ten muskets and rifles, 24 swords, bayonets, uniforms; collection of books from the Regiment's library, records, papers, orders, reports; file of *Gazette*, *Guardsman*, and miscellaneous publications; 6 boxes of photographs and negatives of Regiment activities. *Gift of the Seventh Regiment, New York National Guard.*

Watercolor, *War Garden*, New York City, 1918, by James Calvert Smith. *Gift of Mr. James Calvert Smith.*

Oil painting, *The Man of Thought and the Man of Action* by George Harvey (*c.* 1800–1878). *Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Thomas, in memory of Harry M. Carpenter.*

Five oil paintings by Joseph Tubby (1821–1895), donor's father, of scenes near Kingston, N. Y., and vicinity; sketch book; oil painting, *Scene in the Catskills* by Jesse Talbot (1806/7–1879). *Gift of Miss Gertrude O. Tubby.*

Portrait of *Hon. John Watts, Jr.* (1749–1836) by G. Bruecke. *Gift of Mrs. Hugh Campbell Wallace.*

Seventy-six letters from Robert. F. Wilkinson (1843–1903) to his parents in Poughkeepsie about his Civil War experiences in Louisiana and Virginia, with eight letters about his being wounded and hospitalized, in 1864. *Gift of his daughter, Miss Edith Wilkinson.*

Original wash drawing by Howard Pyle (1853–1911), *Alexander Hamilton Addressing the Mob*, and woodblock by F. H. Wellington, after Pyle's illustration, which was reproduced in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, October 1884. *Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie.*

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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